National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXV. NO. 46. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1,294.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,
AT $3 00 PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
5 South-Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.
ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

MR. GARRISON.

From the Boston Traveller.

THE statement has been made that Mr. Garrison intends to stop the publication of the *Liberator* at the close of the present year, because its leading work, slavery being substantially broken down, the end for which it was established and has been published is accomplished, and there is no further occasion for its appearance. We know not how much truth there is in the statement, or whether, if it be true, that the motives of Mr. Garrison are correctly given; but it is the truth that Mr. Garrison has done his work, and so well, too, that no other American can be named as his equal in success. Failure is associated with the names of almost all eminent Americans whose public career began in this century. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Van Buren, Cass, Fillmore, Douglas, and many more, all broke down on the political course, and have failed to win the prize for which they panted, and labored, and sinned. They had their share of worldly success, each of them, but they failed to win the great object of their hopes, either wholly or in part. Not so Mr. Garrison. The end at which he aimed, though a far more difficult one to obtain than theirs, and apparently unapproachable, has been gained, and the victory he has won has changed the destiny of the American nation. Even those who most regret his success, and who believe that the ultimate effect thereof is to be bad, will not venture to deny that he has been successful, and that that has been done, which, but five years since, it would have been deemed proof of a man's insanity had he placed it in the list of possible things.

Mr. Garrison's labors in the anti-slavery cause date from a very early period of his life; and already he was known as a strong writer in behalf of emancipation when he began the publication of the *Liberator*, at the beginning of 1831. At that time there was but little sympathy with the slave in any part of the United States. At the North slavery was not liked, but the people had no wish to "meddle with it," and quite as little wish to be reminded of their sin in upholding it, and in maintaining the domestic slave trade, which was even more odious than the African slave trade, inasmuch as those who carried on the latter did not celebrate the Fourth of July, or annually and solemnly declare their belief in the natural equality of mankind. We had declared the African slave trade to be piracy; and as we upheld the domestic trade in slaves, and would have hanged as pirates any body of men who should have seized one of our slave craft on the high seas, as she was sailing (say) from Norfolk to New Orleans, it followed that we did in fact add hypocrisy to piracy in our own practice. These things the country did not wish to hear mentioned, because no people likes to be reminded of its disregard of principle. Then the interests of the country were supposed to be indissolubly connected with the existing order of things, and to disturb slavery was to enter upon one of those social and political contests, fear of the occurrence of which has led some of the most enlightened nations of Europe to submit to despotic rule. Here the Black Spectre was as much dreaded as there was the Red Spectre. Socialism did not more alarm the "respectable classes" of Europe than discussion of slavery alarmed the "respectable classes" of America. When Mr. Garrison began his labors in Boston, he showed almost as much of hardihood as Martin Luther displayed when he denounced the Papacy.

The first effect of Mr. Garrison's action was to place him in great danger. Not only was he denounced here, as an agitator and an incendiary, but a price was placed on his head by Southern "fanatics," and the Georgia Legislature offered a large reward for his arrest and conviction. He was threatened with assassination, and the suppression of his journal was eagerly sought. Socially he was a Pariah. But nothing that could be done availed to cool his zeal or lessen his labors. At last, the mob spirit was evoked under the patronage of "gentlemen of property and standing"—and it is only when mobs are thus called into being, and thus led, that they are systematically dangerous. Mobs were hurled against the Abolitionists in many places, and they were peculiarly strong and savage in the City of New York, one of the chief leaders of the respectable rabble being a famous Whig editor—he had ratted from the Democrats, who said that the United States Bank had bought him with a price—and now he holds one of the most respectable of diplomatic posts under the Lincoln government, so much has the world changed. In Boston the respectabilities mobbed anti-slavery women, and Mr. Garrison was saved from that lynching process which settles so many controversies, only by being committed to prison as an incendiary. The contempt that was felt for him, mingled though it was with red hot wrath, had earlier been expressed by Mr. H. G. Otis, then our Mayor, in words that read strangely enough by the lurid light that comes from the flames of the secession war. It was toward the close of 1835, that the mob got the upper hand here, and Mr. Garrison had to leave the city for a short time. He did not, however, intermit his labors, but pursued them as determinedly as ever. Gradually the anti-slavery sentiment gained ground, and began to influence the action of political parties, though Mr. Garrison and the Abolitionists proper, as a rule, were always opposed to political action. The Liberty Party was the legitimate effect of the abolition movement, which owed its origin to Mr. Garrison. That "Party," though it cast but a small vote in 1840, was able, in 1844, to determine the event of the Presidential election. It then threw about 60,000 votes, and enough of these were cast in New York, taken from the Whig party, to ensure the State's electoral vote for Mr. Polk, whereby Mr. Clay was defeated. This was the first clear political effect of Mr. Garrison's labors. In 1848 the Free Soil party came into existence, and its action was sufficient to decide the result of the Presidential conflict of that year. It took Ohio from the Whigs, which so far favored the Democrats; but then it took New York and Pennsylvania from the Democrats, and so secured the election of the Whig candidate, Gen. Taylor. The Mexican war, by increasing our territory, had revived the question of slavery-extension in full force, which could not have happened had not the labors of the Abolitionists educated the public mind to some sense of its duties in relation to slavery; and the Abolitionists owed their power to act on the public mind to the exertions of Mr. Garrison. In 1852, the Free Soil party fell away one-half, the effect of that reaction which ever dogs a period of high excitement; and had the Democrats behaved prudently, it is probable that Mr. Garrison's principles would not have made much further progress in our time. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the odious Kansas policy of the Pierce administration, showed that Mr. Garrison and his immediate supporters had taken the right view of things; and the Republican party, which was founded on an anti-slavery basis, proved powerful enough at the election of 1856 to carry eleven States, casting 113 electoral votes, chosen by upward of 1,300,000 voters. In 1860 the Republican party triumphed at the Presidential election, which, however, it could not have done if the Democratic party had not, under the dominance of Southern secessionists, put two candidates in the field. The anti-slavery principle was not at first fully recognized by the victors, but in September, 1862, the issuing of the Emancipation proclamation virtually ranged the nation and the government under that banner which Mr. Garrison had unfurled at the close of the preceding generation, and for unfurling which he had been denounced, mobbed, all but starved, placed under the ban of opinion, threatened with assassination, and regarded as the common enemy of social order. His triumph was as complete as it was unique. It was such as no other American had ever won, such as no other American, it is probable, will ever win again. In thirty years the man who had been outlawed, as it were, and whom all great parties had shunned as if he were a moral plague-bearer, was virtually law-giver at Washington, the inspirer of Presidential policy, the framer of the mode according to which the greatest civil war of modern times was to be carried on! History presents few spectacles of this kind, and the number thereof is not likely to be much increased hereafter. Circumstances, it must be allowed, favored the application of the Garrisonian principle to practical politics, for if the Southrons had not been mad they never would have so acted as to make Abolitionists of two-thirds of the loyal people of the country; and had they not so acted, it would not have been possible for any President of the United States to be hand-and-glove with William Lloyd Garrison. The abolition reformer needed a place whereon to stand whence to move the American world as he desired it should be moved—and what he could not get for himself, nor any of his friends procure for him, was, to the astonishment of mankind, furnished by the slaveholders themselves. But this detracts nothing from Mr. Garrison's merit. All men who have broadly influenced affairs and controlled events have been favored by circumstances, or they never would have been heard of. Had not circumstances, often apparently of a disastrous nature, favored Cromwell, the great Protector would have remained as unknown as any "village Hampden" whose fame never got beyond his village. Had not circumstances favored their exhibition, the world never would have heard of the virtues and talents of Washington. The very name of Napoleon would have remained unknown, had the French Revolution been postponed for twenty years. Andrew Jackson would have been remembered only as a good fighter of Indians, had the English directed their last invasion of America to some point distant from the South-west. Great men are those who have so acted, or possess such talents, as make those circumstances their slaves which are common men's masters. To the small list of such men Mr. Garrison belongs, and his place on it is a high one.

Mr. Garrison bears well the honors which he has won well. Men who have called him a fanatic, honestly believing him to be one, are surprised to find that, though firm as ever, he is moderate, and that he makes the fullest allowance for the difficulties of practical statesmanship. He does not sacrifice principle to expediency, but he sees that slavery is doomed to rapid extinction, because the slavocracy are beaten in war, and therefore he is satisfied. The end he so long labored to bring about is in course of perfect accomplishment, and he is too well pleased with what is passing to waste his time and his words in making waspish remarks on the manner of proceeding, or in censuring the actions of men who are striving as rapidly as possible to execute that sentence of death which has been pronounced against slavery. He vigorously supports the Federal government, because he sees that it is fighting against slavery, as formerly he vigorously opposed it, because it fought for slavery. His position is as honorable as his conduct is honest and consistent, and such as should be pursued by a man who has done great things, and who has gained a great place in history.

GEN. BANKS VINDICATED BY A "JOHN BROWN" ABOLITIONIST.

LETTER FROM REV. E. M. WHEELOCK.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 8, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON: You will, doubtless, remember me as a contributor to the *Liberator*, prior to the war, and while I was settled in Dover, N. H., as minister of the Unitarian Society of that town.

In the Winter of 1862, I accompanied the "Banks Expedition" to Louisiana, acting as Chaplain to a New Hampshire regiment. Being an Abolitionist in every globule of my blood, my sympathies became deeply stirred by the sufferings of the colored people here. They were in a forlorn condition. They were feeling all the ills that inevitably attend the violent disruption of a settled social condition, without tasting the corresponding good. The Emancipation proclamation of the President had, in express terms, exempted these people from its scope, and the Military Commander of the Department was left without the power to declare them free. At the same time, the mere presence of the army had strangled the infernal force of slavery, and arrested the action of its black code. The old system was in its death-throes, and the new now not yet born. The rod of slavery was broken, but the reign of liberty not begun. On scores of plantations, labor was wholly suspended; and the laborers in hundreds, with their wives and little ones, had gathered around the forts and soldiers' camps. There they earned a precarious living by such uncertain and intermittent employment as they might find; the men as servants, hostlers, camp followers, and hangers-on—their wives as cooks, washerwomen, etc. Hunger, cold, fever and small pox were carrying off the children at a fearful rate of mortality. The morals of the men were being undermined by idleness and evil example, and the modesty of the women debauched by contact with all that is debasing in military life. From month to month their numbers visibly decreased; and it really seemed as though the Southern Negro, like the Indian, the Caffre, the Carib, and the Australian, would become extinct before the rude shock of the war, and the corrosive venom of our vices.

The slave in Louisiana had become free, *de facto*, and in a qualified sense; but, alas! his freedom only meant the power to become idle, to become immoral, to sicken and to die.

Maj.-Gen. Banks decided to deal with this immense evil. *He sought to ascertain and carry out the Freedman's own wishes for himself and his little ones.* After much consultation and thought, he decreed a new order of things, entitled the Free Labor System. This was a contract between the planter and the government, the latter representing the interests of the negro. It was a temporary arrangement, renewable from year to year, and intended to *bridge over this chaotic period of transition, which threatened to absorb the colored race like a quicksand.* By its terms the planter, in whose hands figured the entire agricultural wealth of the State, obtained a single concession—the labor needed to carry on his plantation, pay his taxes, and secure his crop. In all things else he was shorn of his ancient masterful privileges, and onerous duties laid upon him instead. He was required to furnish to the able-boddied laborer a house to live in for himself and all the members of his household, an acre of land to cultivate on his own private account, together with food, clothing, fuel, medical attendance, and eight dollars a month in money. The use of the whip, and all cruel and unusual punishments, were forbidden; his seigneurial rights were entirely swept away, and his absolute authority reduced to a degree corresponding with that of an employer over his hired workmen.

The magisterial and punishing power was vested exclusively in the Provost Marshal, who, as the representative of the government in each parish or county, decided all questions between employer and employed. The laborer was permitted to choose his employer; but the choice once made, he was required to work faithfully for one year under the protection of the government. Free instruction was promised for his children; and the quiet possession of his Sunday as a day of rest (a boon unknown to slavery) was guaranteed. Idleness, insolence and vagrancy were to be suppressed by forfeiture of pay, and such punishments as are provided for similar offences in army regulations.

Bad faith on the employer's part was to be punished by fine, imprisonment, and loss of estate.

Such were the main features of the famous Free Labor System, which, it was hoped, would supersede the lingering remnants of chattel slavery on the one hand, and on the other the idleness, misery and vice with which the Department was filled.

Now, coming as I did fresh from a long discipleship under your faithful ministry of humanity and righteousness, I could easily see that this system fell short of ideal justice to the negro. He it was whose unpaid toil had cleared and drained, from forest and swamp, those mile-long cane fields of more than Egyptian fertility. He it was, who, beyond all questioning, stood forth as the eminently and absolutely loyal man.

Up and down the river stretched vast plantations, whose owners had become rebel Majors and Brigadiers. To have divided them into hundred acre farms—to each black household a farm in fee simple—this would have been but requital. They had earned it by the patient toil of one hundred and eighty years, and as the meed of being faithful found among the faithless.

But this could not be. The times were unripe. Neither Congress, the army, or the nation were then equal to so grand a justice.

A statesman's duty is measured by his power. When he finds it not possible to do the best thing, he must do the best thing possible. To succeed, he must move with events, not outrun them.

At that time, under those circumstances, *the Labor System was the best thing possible.* It was timely. Its scope was equal to the exigencies of the occasion, and in its features was happily blended philanthropic purpose with those steps of gradation, that slow labor of years, and mediation of time, which are the conditions of its practical embodiment.

With these views, I accepted the following appointment:

"Chaplain E. M. WHEELOCK is hereby detailed as one of the Superintendents of Negro Education and Labor in this Department.

"He will visit plantations and jails, and correct and report upon all irregularities and abuses of the Labor System coming under his notice. From time to time, he will report to the General Coumanding. He will be obeyed and respected accordingly. N. P. BANKS, M. G. C."

In company with Rev. G. H. Hepworth, of your city, then an army chaplain, I began at once my work. From the forts near the river's mouth to Baton Rouge, a distance of nearly 250 miles, we visited nearly all the important plantations on each side of the river.

By personal and minute inspection, continuing over a period of many months, I made myself acquainted with the workings of the Labor System, the needs of the negro, and the varying attitudes and moods of the planter and overseer.

At first there was much discouragement with the system, found no adequate appreciation of the government. Many of the planters, especially of French and Spanish extraction, were wedded to the past, and did not comprehend the Revolution. Although accepting, per force, the conditions of the Free Labor System, they wished for its failure, and hated its humane restraints. They issued to their laborers scanty rations, treated them with churlish unkindness, paid their wages irregularly, and made unjust deductions therefrom; and employed overseers notorious in the old times for their cruelty, who had forgotten nothing, and who had learned nothing, and whose single expedient in every difficulty was a resort to the ancient methods of discipline—the whip, the chain, and the stocks.

In some districts we found the jails filled with negroes maliciously imprisoned, and against whom no charge whatever could be found on the prison books. In other places, the Provost Marshal had been bought or bribed, and, from being the protector of the negro, had become his tyrant and terror.

These disorders and abuses were speedily reported to the Commanding General, and as swiftly remedied. The prisoners unjustly held were released; the sinning overseer dismissed from any employment or imprisoned; the Marshal who had disgraced his uniform was removed; and the offending planter heavily fined, or even deprived of his plantation.

Said the General to me, "If any planter, after due warning, persists in mutiny against these just restraints, I will remove his laborers, and strip his plantation as bare as the palm of my hand." This was done in more than one instance, and with the best moral effect. The negroes themselves, wearied with herding together in discomfort, idleness and starvation, everywhere accepting with gratitude the new order of things, returned to their homes, ready to render faithful service for wages. For, by a sort of divine instinct, these poor creatures comprehended that, in this matter, the military power was their saviour and friend.

Order was gradually brought out of chaos, the abandoned soil was re-tilled, and new capital and new proprietorship took the place of the old. The most intelligent and honorable of the planters, many of whom had long questioned both the wisdom and economy of slave labor, accepted frankly the new idea, kept in good faith its conditions, and found that just treatment and prompt pay furnished all the incentives needed by their workmen, in order to raise and gather their crops.

At the end of the year 1863, I was enabled to report that the law of God was still in force, and that the system, which, in the midst of war, and in the heart of a slaveholding community, proposed to substitute paid labor for unpaid, and justice for violence, was a success on the delta of Louisiana. I am not an enthusiast, but I thanked God that I was able to say so much.

The new year of 1864 smiled upon our labors. The experience of the last twelve months had served to correct errors, and to strengthen liberty and progress in every weak point. The machinery of the system had become well-adjusted, and in working order.

A Bureau of Free Labor was established. Here complaints were heard, wrongs righted, fair-dealing enforced, and a complete registry of all the freedmen made.

Meanwhile, a great moral change was passing over the State. A sense of permanence, unknown before, was attaching itself to the Federal arms and authority here, and daily many souls were born again. Old things were passing away, and all things becoming new. The incorrigible portion of the planting interest had been disposed of; the great majority had learned to gracefully accept the inevitable; while the brains of the State had been with us from the first.

In 1863 this community, throbbing with the volcanic passions of slavery and faction, were against us in this grand test of the applicability of free labor; a twelve-month later, and this same community, cooled, repentant, wearied of the war and its burdens, and sinking under the loss of their sons, their fortunes, and their hopes, were with us; and in morals as in battle, success marches with the heaviest battalions.

Now, too, the benignant promise of free schools for the colored people began to be fulfilled, and Education followed in the footsteps of liberty. In the latter part of March, 1864, General Order 38 was issued, constituting a Board of Education, whereof Major B. Rush Plumly was chairman, "empowered to employ teachers, and establish and conduct common schools for the rudimental instruction of the freedmen of this department."

The success of Major Plumly has been a wonder even to the most hopeful of his friends. In the face of every obstacle, the good work has gone on, until ninety-eight schools, amply supplied with school furniture, and the best text-books of the North, have been established; with an attendance of upwards of eleven thousand pupils, and with night-schools and Sunday-schools dispensing instruction to twenty-two hundred laboring adults.

At the end of another twelve months, there will be more white men than black men in Louisiana, unable to read and write!

Where else in the bloody passage of this war can such benign results be shown! Was there ever so much gained in so short a time? The anti-slavery seed sown by your hand, in apostolic faith, through so many weary, waiting years, has grown to a golden harvest here, and has become the bread of life to our free and toiling thousands.

In January, 1863, these people were congregated in herds within our lines and around our military posts; the old, the young, and the women living together in little huts, in unhealthy localities, with nothing to do, and no comforts when ill, contracting the most vicious habits, and dying in frightful numbers. They produced nothing, they were a contamination to the troops, and a heavy expense to the government. The conservative pointed to them as a proof that the "negro was fitted only to be a slave"; while many true men said, with a sigh, "It is perhaps necessary that this generation should perish amid the throes and pangs of the Revolution, and only their children reap the distant promised good."

Now these people are quiet and thrifty laborers, *doing better as to wages than farm hands at the North.* They are no longer branded, torn by the whip, mutilated and sold. The dark days are past. They have redress for their grievances, pay for their services, and schools for their children. They know that they are no longer chattels. They have their homes where they earn their daily bread. They have their families about them, whom no man can divide or sell. They stand as equals of any before the law; they are enrolled into the militia with the whites, and their testimony is received in courts of justice. From "things counted at so much per head," they have grown into the likeness of men, who know and dare maintain their rights. They are rapidly rising in the social scale, and learning their own power and worth. They are moving, and that not tardily, on the straight line to the goal of all their rights.

Already in our State Legislature a vigorous effort is being made to extend the franchise to those of the colored race who pay taxes, who have fought for their country, or who shall be qualified by educational fitness to vote. This measure will pass the Legislature, and become a law; then each minor question can well take care of itself.

In speaking thus of the results of the Labor System of Gen. Banks, I have said nothing but what I know. I have had every opportunity of judging of its merits, and have presented the facts which my long and varied experience has enabled me to gather.

Some one has said that it required more genius and capacity to govern the single commonwealth of England, in the time of Cromwell, than would be needed to control all Europe now. So I think that, in all our land, there has been no such trying and difficult field for the statesman to regulate and the soldier to rule as this. *I think the policy of Gen. Banks, with respect to the Southern negro, has been dictated by profound wisdom.*

Considering the peculiar population here, the mixture of elements, the pro-slavery tone of much of our army, and the hesitating policy of the Central government in 1862, *a better system could not have been devised.* INTO TWO HEROIC YEARS HAS BEEN COMPRESSED THE WORK OF AN AGE. The present generation is too near the successive waves of this great movement to give to each its true grandeur and prominence. But history will do both events and actors justice.

We have been waging a tremendous war for the freedmen here—a war in which the bullet, the pen, the mind, the heart, the spelling-book, and the Bible have all been engaged. By the grace of God, we have gained the day. The tide of freedom nears its flood. The freedman in Louisiana has won, or is fast winning all his rights. He already shares our civilization; he will soon share our political equality, and the franchise of a citizen.

Yours, with sincerest regard, E. M. WHEELOCK,
Secretary of the Board of Education of Freedmen, Department of the Gulf.

THE FREE SCHOOLS OF CHARLESTON.

From the Philadelphia Press.

THE free schools of Charleston are now in fair operation. Nearly thirty teachers have been provisionally appointed, and of these one half are white ladies of Charleston. Over one thousand pupils are in attendance, of whom three hundred are white. Rumors industriously circulated by the old officers of the schools, to the effect that colored and white children were indiscriminately mixed, have kept many of the latter from attendance; but those who come come cheerfully. Out of eighteen white teachers chosen, twelve were in favor of teaching either white or black children. This is decided progress upon the old sentiment—this, too, in the city of Charleston! White and colored children are taught in the same building, and no prejudice interferes with their lessons. No white teachers have been called upon to take charge of colored classes, and beyond the fact that the right of loyal freedmen's children to share the privilege of free education with the children of their disloyal oppressors has been acknowledged, there is nothing of which the most rabid secessionist need complain. As it is, however, the wholesome and necessary thorn has been planted in his bosom. It is impossible to do justice to our old friends without offending our old enemies. None have so much right to the free schools as the freed children of Charleston. In former times all the free colored men were compelled to pay taxes to support the education of white men's children; the slaves were also taxed as men were never taxed, and all without an atom of reward. It is quite time that the rule of justice should prevail wherever the United States holds territory. It will be unfortunate if anything more is conceded to those who have been disloyal, and if the colored children are turned out from participation in the public schools, and given over to private and Northern charity. The three hundred white boys and girls who attend school in Charleston are the sons and daughters of the poorer white class, the most friendly of all their complexion toward the government, the most willing to abide by it and support it. As every one knows who has travelled in the South, there is far less natural prejudice in the association of colors than exists in many places at the North. What complexional feeling exists will, therefore, be the more speedily removed from the minds of that large class of whites who are to receive the most benefit from public free schools—an agency which must do more to regenerate the South than any other that can be imagined. White and colored children can be seen playing together in the streets of Charleston—rich white men have not scrupled to embrace their brothers in blood, although those brothers had darker faces than their own, and although it must still be admitted that the masters of the South whipped their own children, and sold their own brothers also. Yet it is nevertheless a fact, now as much for good as it was formerly for evil, that the mulatto population are the constant medium of the blacks and whites, and have thus made the South, in many respects, one family. Not the black man, but his freedom, is the one thing intolerable to so large a part of the whites. But the new order of things must be accepted either perforce or in reason, and those who have money will pay for labor. The negroes exist as heretofore, only they are free. The complexional objection is a fantasy, a blind only for the slaveholder's radical antipathy of freedom. Not what will become of the blacks, but what will become of the whites, is the chief question, and it is not at all improbable that the fate of the former will solve the latter. At all events, freedom has begun well in Charleston. The schools, in default of other support, are maintained by the agents of the freedmen's aid associations, of whom Mr. George Newcomb, Superintendent of Schools for the Department of the South, has rendered most signal aid in the new enterprise of education in Charleston.

Correspondence of the Tribune.

CHARLESTON, March 4, 1865.

The great event of to-day—the inauguration of two workingmen, a farm laborer and a tailor, as the future rulers of a mighty people—was fitly celebrated in Charleston, the conquered stronghold of the feudal spirit in America, by the re-opening of the public schools of the city for all the children thereof, without distinction of rank or race, of color or creed. The Morris street school was selected as being the best preserved and the largest for the first assemblage of the children; and it was not thought that there would be any immediate necessity for opening the others. But by 9 o'clock, the first and third stories were so crowded with colored children, that it was impossible to classify them; and, in the second story, which was exclusively appropriated to the whites, there were over two hundred. Between three and four hundred white children have reported their names, but some have been kept away to-day by the report, industriously circulated by the enemies of *free* schools and by the old rebel teachers, that colored women would be put over them as their instructors. There were a thousand colored children by an actual but incomplete count; and at least fifteen hundred have promised to attend before the close of another week. As this outpouring of children was so much larger than was expected, it became necessary to announce that another school building would be opened on Monday, when the classification will be completed and the system of instruction commenced.

Addresses were made to the children in the different wards by the Rev. Mr. Newcombe (Freedmen's Aid Society), Chaplain Lynch, 50th Massachusetts, and Mr. Kane O'Donnell of Philadelphia. They were taught some school hymns, and sang various songs; and the exercises were closed by a short prayer, which all the freed children slowly and distinctly repeated after the Superintendent:

"*God bless—Abraham Lincoln—our President—and Liberator.*"

Many hearts were touched by the sight of more than five hundred of these little children, all so lately slaves, with clasped hands and closed eyes, asking God to bless the instrument of their freedom on the day of his reinstallment in authority, and in the city which was the first to rebel against it. And, in all the wide land, there were no more sincere prayers offered up for our President.

So the thing is done. The loyal white people—the Irish and German population—have shown that they are quite willing to let their children attend the same school building with the loyal backs; although it is true, also, that no attempt to unite them in the same rooms or classes would have been tolerated at this time. But, in the play-ground, white and black boys joined in the same sports—as they do in the public streets; and there can be no doubt that, now that this great step has been made, all the prejudice against equal educational advantages will speedily vanish. And, indeed, it is the veriest hypocrisy in the city, where every old family has aided in obliterating all complexional distinctions by mingling their blood with that of their slaves. In the rooms in which the colored children assembled, there were many pupils with clear blue eyes, pure white skins, long silky hair without a single kink—and yet they were classed with the negro population by the former rules of this city.

The white children were told that no insult to the colored pupils would be permitted; and they expressed themselves not only willing but glad that every one had now a chance to be taught.

The Freedmen's Aid Societies will furnish teachers.

The old teachers and directors (who did much to incite and keep alive the rebellion here by causing the children to sing insurrectionary airs) are doing their utmost to have the instruction of the colored children brought to an end; but their representations have no influence at Post Headquarters, and only Gen. Gillmore has the necessary authority to grant their dastardly and arrogant desires. I will not do that officer the wrong to suppose for one moment that he would be instrumental in turning out the truly loyal children of the city in order to conciliate men whose hands are red with the blood of our brothers. But the Rip Van Winkles here do not know the times we live in, and act and talk exactly as if the Fugitive Slave law was in full force, and they could browbeat the truth still as in the bad old times. They will wake up and find their mistake by and by; and scenes like these will help them to know that this is the nineteenth century.

The Christian Commission has furnished, through its Agent (Rev. Mr. Spencer), all the school-books that are needed. BERWICK.

SCHOOL EXHIBITION IN NEW ORLEANS.

From the New Orleans Delta, Feb. 23.

THE pupils of the Colored schools of New Orleans will long remember Washington's birthday, of 1865, as one of great festivity. They assembled, together with a large number of invited guests, at the Orleans Theatre, early yesterday morning, and before noon the building was so crowded that several schools had to be sent away. There were probably four thousand persons present. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Newman, the performances began with the song, "America," which was very well done, as, in fact, was all the singing, the pupils showing evidence of careful training, in regard to time, etc. The regular programme was then carried out in the following order:

Recitation—Birthday of Washington, Maria Cripps; Song—Good time coming, Mrs. Brice's School; Declamation—Union, Henderson McCraig; Music—Instrumental, Maiden's Prayer, Mr. Arthur Williams; Tableau—The Dawn of Liberty; Declamation—Launching of the Ship, Arthur Guiranovich; Song—Brighter Day, Mr. Williams's School; Recitation—I Hardly Think I Will, Victoria Martin; Song—Uncle Sam's Farm, School of Liberty; Dialogue—The Pen and the Sword, Dr. Randolph's School; Song (in character)—Kingdom coming (Pip); Tableau—The Fruits of Liberty; Recitation—The American Flag; Song of Liberty, Mrs. Brice's School; Essay—Darkness of the Past, Brightness of the Present, V. Martin; Dialogue (not in programme); Song—Dear Mother, I've Come Home to Die; Tableau—Hiawatha's Wooing; Music (instrumental)—Dearest Spot, etc., Mr. Arthur Williams; Recitation—The Negro's Complaint, Fanny Day; Song—Over the Ocean Wave, Mr. Williams's School; Dialogue—The Shape of the Earth; Vocal Duet—Good Night, the Misses Williams; Concluding Song—No Slave Beneath the Flag.

The recitations, declamations, dialogues and songs were fully equal in merit to the generality of school children's efforts. The girls showed much greater proficiency than the boys, and the larger part of the exhibition fell to their lot.

The recitation, "Birthday of Washington," by Maria Cripps, was very fine, and Master Guiranovich recited the beautiful poem, "Launching the Ship," with excellent modulation of voice and accuracy of gesture. But the prize performance, in our opinion, was the essay read by Victoria Martin. It is seldom that more correct accentuation is found even among the most experienced readers. A reference to Gen. Banks drew forth hearty cheers for that distinguished officer and statesman, which were repeated at mention of the name of Governor Hahn.

Much merriment was excited by Pip's song, "Kingdom Coming," and he was called upon for a repetition. "Pip" was dressed as a plantation darkey, with a hoe in his hand, and looked *almost* as genuine as one of the Africans might have done in his place.

The effect of the tableux was partially spoiled by their being placed too near the front of the stage, but still they were heartily applauded. The "Dawn of Liberty" was a crowd of freedmen bowed down before the Goddess of Liberty, and the "Fruits of Liberty" was a school-room scene, each pupil studying. The recitation, the "Negro's Complaint," by Fanny Day, was very good.

Mr. B. Rush Plumly, Superintendent of the Colored Bureau of Education, appeared upon the stage and for about ten minutes spoke most eloquently and earnestly. After apologizing for Gov. Hahn, who was present (with several other State officers,) but prevented from speaking by sore throat, he stated that the preparations for the exhibition had purposely been made short, in order that the native power of the pupils might prominently display itself. He announced that, in a short time, another exhibition, would be given, and, if possible, at the Opera House, which is much larger than the Orleans Theatre. He should endeavor to have it take place on the day appointed for celebrating the universal Emancipation Amendment recently adopted by Congress, and every exertion would be made to have it a complete success. Another song was sung, benediction pronounced by Dr. Newman, and the exhibition was over. The whole affair speaks well for the labors and faithful attention to duty of the teachers of our colored schools.

LETTER FROM MRS. CHILD.

From the Independent.

WAYLAND, March 7, 1865.

I HAVE followed you with lively interest in your journey to the far West, and have been rejoiced to see you scattering the seed of truth far and wide; especially on the suffrage question. In every point of view, it is an all-important question. In the first place, it is right and just that no man should be excluded from voting on account of his complexion. In the second place, the establishment of reading and writing as the only criterion will be a powerful impulse to the acquisition of knowledge. In the third place, it will be the most effectual, if not the only, way to deprive pro-slavery voters of dangerous power. In the fourth place, we need the votes of *all* our native-born citizens to balance the masses of foreign population. For twenty-five years past I have maintained that no man ought to be allowed to vote unless he knew how to read and write. There is nothing arbitrary or tyrannical in this restriction, for the qualification is one which every man can acquire; and obviously it is a safeguard to our institutions that men, who are intrusted with power to vote them down, should first have the means of obtaining information concerning them. We have had severe and salutary experience on this point; for it was a mass of ignorance, wielded by artful and unprincipled politicians, themselves wielded by the slaveholding oligarchy, which came so near overthrowing our free institutions; *so* near, that only by this bloody strife could they be rescued from destruction.

It seems as if the end of this physical warfare was rapidly approaching; but we must all remember that the cessation of military hostilities is but the beginning of the great *moral* work that is to be accomplished. The disappointed and malignant slaveholders will doubtless enact the part of Cain, as they did in Jamaica. They will do all they possibly can to discourage and harass the emancipated laborers. They will exert all their power and all their cunning to make the system of free labor work badly, and then they will cry exultingly, "Behold the effects of emancipation!" Mattie Griffith, who is now in Georgetown, D. C., writes to me that the colored people are shamefully treated by their former owners. It is well that the anti-slavery societies should disband as soon as their work is completed; but they ought to reorganize as protection societies. The newly-emancipated will need vigilant watchmen on the towers for one generation more, at least.

Yet what a wonderful change has been wrought! Though everybody says it, I cannot help repeating, What a wonderful change! If you would measure the progress, read Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural and his last. How concise and significant, how full of wisdom and moral power, is that last brief address to the people! I have found a great deal of fault with President Lincoln, but, I must say, he has continually grown upon my respect and confidence. He is evidently a sensible, an honest, and a kind-hearted man. I regard it as one of the best auguries for the American people that they had the good sense to stand by him at this important crisis. It was the triumph of free schools.

Yet it is well that there are sharp critics watching him; for his good-nature and love of peace may lead him into snares. And this pro-slavery devil, after he has come out, with such terrible rending and tearing, will assume all manner of Protean shapes for mischief. He will squat like a toad, twist like a snake, and coo like a dove.

Fortunately, Charles Sumner carries Ithuriel's spear, and will detect him in all disguises. Beyond all statesmen in this country, or any other, I honor Charles Sumner. His intellectual ability, great as it is, constitutes his smallest claim to our respect and admiration. The wonderful clearness of his moral perceptions is what I mainly reverence in his character. He sees truth in the sunlight of conscience, and steers toward it in as straight a line as the bee goes to her hive. He had no need of learning that "a straight line is the shortest in morals, as in mathematics," for he was born with an intuitive perception of it. Men call this fearless reliance upon principles a want of statesmanship; but it is, in fact, the highest statesmanship; a kind that would render diplomacy as useless as a dark lantern in the day-time. I think Charles Sumner is fully appreciated only by his enemies. *They* show their estimate of his power by the intensity of their hatred. How ably, how perseveringly, he has worked for freedom during the fourteen years he has been in the Senate! Coaxed, threatened, abused, ridiculed, half-assassinated, he has never deviated from his straightforward, manly course; though he has many times been but feebly sustained by political friends, and unjustly censured by Radical Abolitionists. Some say he hates slaveholders on account of the cruel outrage they perpetrated upon him. That he hates slavery with unmitigated hatred is doubtless true; but that it is the *institution*, not the *men*, is evident from his plea for humane treatment toward those who become our prisoners. I expected such utterance from Charles Sumner, and no good that I ever expected of him has failed to come. Even Butler, of S. C., could not help saying, a short time before he died, "I respect Charles Sumner"; adding in characteristic Southern style, "and he is a devil of a scholar."

You see that the steps of the auction-block in Charleston have been brought to Boston for exhibition. It is not inappropriate; for many of our politicians have been sold in the auctions of the South. I wish they had brought the block itself. It would be a most appropriate pedestal for Daniel Webster's statue; which looks, by the way, very much like an ill-dressed negro.

How impressive is that portion of the President's inaugural, where he says that every drop of blood drawn by the lash has been repaid by drops drawn by the sword. During the progress of the war, I have often been struck with the fact that the *same* measure we have meted out has been measured unto *us*. The poor slaves had *their* children shot down, whipped to death, and torn from them to die afar off, and we heard of it with languid indifference, or had no execrations to bestow, except upon those who told of such deeds. *They* died by slow starvation, and we heeded it not. *They* were torn by bloodhounds, and we would not believe that Southern gentlemen could train ferocious brutes for such a purpose. And lo! we learn it all now, in the terrible school of experience. Slavery tears *our* children from us, to die far away from us; she starves them to skeletons; she tracks their flight with fierce bloodhounds. And, to complete the lesson, the poor, abused negro, whom we have helped to abuse, hides them, and feeds them, and guides them to their friends. It seems to me that never, in human history, was the Divine Hand so plainly visible. Yours most cordially,

L. MARIA CHILD.

CHARLESTON AND "THE PLANTER."

From the Boston Transcript.

IT was indeed a privilege to enter Charleston, as we did recently through the courtesy of Maj.-Gen. Saxton, in such a steamer as the Planter and with such a Captain as Robert Small. It was their first appearance in the harbor since the memorable morning of their departure in 1862. The fog detained us for a few hours on our arrival at the bar. When it cleared away, you can imagine with what cheer our anchor came up, and with what smiles and satisfaction the vessel and her commander swept by the silenced and dismantled Sumter, and hauled in to the waiting, wondering wharves of the ruined city. Wherever we went on shore, we had only to say to the colored people, "The Planter and Captain Small are at the dock," and away they all hurried to greet the well-known, welcome guests. "Too sweet to think of," cried one noble-looking old man, who had evidently waited long for the good news of our day, as he hastened to join the crowd.

We met Small afterwards, walking in the streets in peace and safety. But when our rambles about the humbled place were over, and we prepared to depart, the scene about the steamer was one that we can never forget. A goodly company of the leading colored people were arranging for a public meeting with Gen. Saxton in the largest hall of the city, to learn from his lips the purposes of our government, on the following week. Their interview over, they joined a large crowd of their own color upon the pier. Small was in the midst of them, with a couple of white men in conversation with him. Curiosity led us near. He introduced us to the builder of the vessel, and the maker of the engine and boilers. "I put the polish on," he added laughingly. They withdrew towards a couple of their own complexion. He pointed out the principal person in the group, to the General, as Colonel Ferguson

the bar of Heaven? Not those who had entered into the contest upon principle and adhered to the principle, but those who had abandoned the principle. Not for all the gold in California would he have put his name to such a measure as this unless obliged to do it by instructions. As long as he was free to vote from his own convictions nothing could have extorted it from him.

Mr. Hunter then argued the necessity of freeing the negroes if they were made soldiers. There was something in the human heart and head that tells us it must be so; when they come out scarred from this conflict they must be free. If we could make them soldiers, the condition of the soldier being socially equal to any other in society, we could make them officers, perhaps, to command white men. Some future ambitious President might use the slaves to seize the liberties of the country and put the white men under his feet. The government had no power under the Constitution to arm and emancipate the slaves, and the Constitution granted no such great powers by implication.

Mr. Hunter then showed from statistics that no considerable body of negro troops could be raised in the States over which the government had control, without stripping the country of the labor absolutely necessary to produce food. He thought there was a much better chance of getting the large number of deserters back to the army than of getting the slaves into it. The negro abhorred the profession of a soldier. The commandant of conscripts, with authority to impress twenty thousand slaves, had, between last September and the present time, been able to get but four thousand: and of these thirty-five hundred had been obtained in Virginia and North Carolina, and five hundred from Alabama. If he, armed with all the powers of impressment, could not get them as laborers, how will we be able to get them as soldiers? Unless they volunteer they will go to the Yankees; if we depend upon their volunteering we can't get them, and those we do get will desert to the enemy, who can offer them a better price than we can. The enemy can offer them liberty, clothing, and even farms at our expense. Negroes now were deterred from going to the enemy only by the fear of being put into the army. If we put them in they would all go over.

WILL THE NEGRO SAVE THEM?

From the Springfield Republican.

The Louisville *Journal* quotes a Union Major-General, who has spent much time in the South during the war, as saying that there was nothing he so earnestly desired as that the rebels should arm their negroes; he believed it would be the death of the rebellion. The experiment would have been hazardous enough, politically, if undertaken with a weight of opinion in its favor; but it has been carried against the decided convictions of the majority in the rebel Congress, and under solemn protest of the dissentients that it is a fatal measure. There is the same division among the people, and it is not a mere question of policy with most of them, but of principle. They regard it as the abandonment of the first and only real cause of the war; while those who have no direct interest in the institution itself cannot fail to see that it is the last desperate resort of leaders whose cause is already lost. This will inevitably be the moral effect on the people of the South, and it will certainly increase the discord and discouragement already so great.

But supposing the Confederate leaders to hold their present armies together until they can get a negro army organized, will the negroes fight for them? Hunter and Wigfall, and many others of the rebel Congressmen, predict that they will desert to the Yankees at the first opportunity. Gen. Lee thinks he can make them useful; or rather he thinks that unless he can the Confederacy must be given up, because the supply of white men is exhausted, and therefore he wishes to try the experiment. This is all he has really said in favor of the project. The rebels do not in fact offer the negroes any inducements to fight. The law passed does not address them, but their masters; it authorizes the employment of such negroes as the masters shall furnish. It does not promise the negroes liberty either now or at the end of the war. On the contrary it provides that they shall not be emancipated except with the consent of their masters and of the State government, and under the conditions that may be imposed by State laws. The chance for liberty under such circumstances is very small and uncertain, and the negroes must be more stupid than we can believe them to be if they do not see it so. If any negroes go voluntarily into the rebel ranks under this law it will be because they are lied to and deceived. If they are forced in they will add weakness instead of strength to the rebel armies. But by this time nearly every slave who has brains enough to handle a musket understands the merits of the war, and of course knows that if the rebels are defeated he will be free, while if they succeed he has only a very dubious chance of freedom at the best. If the rebels succeed so far as to get arms into the hands of 300,000 negroes they will not be worth to them as much as 10,000 white men. This last hope of the rebellion will fail.

SHERMAN IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

A SOUTH CAROLINA COTTON FACTORY.

JUST above the point on the Saluda where we have placed our pontoons there is a large factory for the manufacture of cotton cloth, of the kind known as Osnaburgs. I visited this factory and found the machinery and building in a filthy condition, and in striking contrast to the cleanly, orderly factories of the North. A little village a few yards up the bank is inhabited by the employees, two hundred and fifty degraded, ignorant, dirty women. Young and old live in this group of badly-built, dirty wooden houses. I could not but be forcibly reminded of the arguments of those cursed slaveholders who defended their peculiar institution by comparing the condition of their human property with our intelligent, well-bred factory operatives, to the advantage of their slaves. Here is a factory and here are operatives which, compared with establishments of the same description at the North, would be as a pig-sty is to a well-ordered house. The visits we are paying our Southern brethren just now remorselessly expose not a few of their shameless lies and villanies.

THE PUNISHMENT OF TRAITORS.

Columbia will have bitter cause to remember the visit of Sherman's army. Even if peace and prosperity soon return to the land, not in this nor the next generation—no, not for a century, can this city or the State recover from the deadly blow which has taken her life. It is not alone in the property that has been destroyed—the bridges, mills, railroads, material of every description and the buildings, nor the loss of their slaves, who, within the last few days, have joined us by hundreds and thousands—although this deprivation of the means by which they lived is of incalculable importance—but the most blasting, withering blow of all is the crushing downfall of their inordinate vanity, their arrogant pride. Their fancied unapproachable, invincible security has been ruthlessly overthrown. Their boastings, threatenings and denunciations have been scornfully passed by as the idle wind. The feet of one hundred thousand Abolitionists, hated and despised, have pressed heavily upon their sacred soil, and their spirit is broken. I well know that thousands of South Carolina's sons are in the army of rebellion; but she has already lost her best blood there. Those who remain have no homes. The Hampdens, Barnwells, Simses, Rhetts, Singletons, Prestons, and the rest, have no homes. The ancient homesteads where were gathered sacred associations, the heritage of many generations, are swept away. When first they became traitors, they lost honor; to-day they have no local habitations; in the glorious future of this country they will have no name.

COWARDLY SOUTH CAROLINA.

A characteristic feature of South Carolina chivalry which has impressed itself upon all of us ever since we entered the State, had a marked illustration last night and this morning. I refer to a whining, helpless, craven spirit which shows itself whenever any of these people get hurt. In Georgia the sufferers would say: "We expected to lose our cows, corn and poultry; war is a terrible thing at the best, and we must take it as it comes. So long as we are not injured in our persons we do not complain." But these fellows who were "to die in the last ditch," who would "welcome us with bloody hands to hospitable graves," or something of that sort, are more cowardly than children, and whine like whipped schoolboys. Ridiculously helpless, they sit and groan without making the first effort to help themselves, when a little work would be of vital importance.

There is not an officer or soldier in all our army who has not added to his dislike of the pseudo-chivalric negro-drivers the most supreme disgust and contempt.

GENERAL SHERMAN AND ESCAPED PRISONERS.

In Columbia the General was met by some of our prisoners, who had escaped before the removal took place consequent on our approach, and had been secreted in the town by the negroes. Not around the social board, not when meeting his dearest friends, not in that responsive moment of gladness when victory crowns our efforts, have I seen his face beam with such exultation and kindly greeting as when he took these poor fellows by the hand and welcomed them home—home to the army, to protection, to the arms of their brave comrades, to the dear old flag which had gone out of sight many months ago upon some well-remembered battle-field.

UNCLEANLY PEOPLE.

To-day is the first instance within a week that I have seen a household where the women were neatly dressed and the children cleanly. The people who have inhabited the houses along the roads for fifty miles behind us are amongst the most degraded specimens of humanity I have ever seen. Many of the families I now refer to do not belong to the class known as the "poor whites of the South," for these are large landowners, and holders of from ten to forty slaves.

The peasantry of France are uneducated, but they are usually cleanly in their habits, and the serfs of Russia are ignorant, but they are semi-barbarous and have, until lately, been slaves. The working classes (many of them) in England are debased, but they work; the people I have seen and talked to for several days past are not only disgustingly filthy in their houses and their persons, but they are so provokingly lazy, or "shiftless," as Mrs. Stowe has it, that they appear more like corpses recalled to a momentary existence, and I have felt like applying a galvanic battery to see if they could not be made to move. Even the inroads of our foragers do not start them into life; they loll about like sloths, and barely find energy enough to utter a whining lament that they will starve.

HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

During this campaign I have seen terrible instances of the horrors of the institution of slavery. I have seen men and women as white as the purest type of the Anglo-Saxon race in our army, who had been bought and sold like animals, who were slaves. I have looked upon the mutilated forms of black men who had suffered torture at the caprice of their cruel masters, and I have heard tales of woe too horrible for belief, but in all these I have never been so impressed with the degrading, demoralizing influence of this curse of slavery as in the presence of these South Carolinians. The higher classes represent the scum and the lower the dregs of civilization. South Carolinians they are, and not Americans.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1865.

THE EXAMPLE OF OUR EMANCIPATION.

As the existence of American slavery has always been the main prop of Negro Slavery wherever it exists, so its overthrow is fast weakening the foundations of the accursed system in all other countries. Brazil is taking the first steps in the direction of Emancipation. In fact, she did take the first step by the Abolition of the Slave Trade some years ago. The Emperor, one of the most enlightened monarchs as well as one of the best and most accomplished men that ever sat on a throne, is an Abolitionist in principle, and a crowned Abolitionist has great advantages over us who had to work long years to bring the Sovereign People up to the point of taking the matter into consideration. And it was not till the bayonets of the slaveholders were at their throats in defence of the divine right of their supremacy, in virtue of their institution, that the Sovereign People could be made to see that it was a question of their own political existence that was at issue and roused them to a resolution that they would not die if the death of slavery could save their political life. Slavery will soon be abolished in Brazil, where the main obstacle we have had to encounter does not exist. There is none of the political annihilation of the negro and the social prejudice against him merely on account of his complexion. A free black man has just as good a *status* there as a white man, and high civil and military offices are held by colored men without a thought of there being anything morally wrong, politically inexpedient or socially degrading in the circumstance. Slavery is not the corner-stone of Brazilian institutions, and its abolition will resolve itself into a pure question of political economy and absolute justice. The Emperor Pedro II. doubtless has the noble ambition to immortalize his name in the annals of his country and of mankind by this great moral and social revolution. And though he would unquestionably have accomplished this glorious work during his reign, should he attain to the average age of sovereigns, yet the removal of the blackness of our national disgrace has helped and hastened his purposes and his measures.

Slavery abolished in the United States and in the Brazils, it cannot long survive even in Cuba. Spain cannot afford to stand in the position of the only slave-driving nation on the earth. She has received a great industrial impulse of late years, and her progress in material prosperity has been one of very extraordinary rapidity. The development of her resources at home has proceeded from an improved system of domestic policy which has been rewarded with very great results. And, as at once a cause and an effect, Constitutional government has taken a firm hold of the soil of Spain, to be rendered yet stronger by the weakness which still haunts her finances, as the hereditary taint of the old despotic malady. The donation of the private property of the crown to the nation by the Queen, though well-meant if not well-advised, can be but a temporary relief. Progress in the true doctrines of political economy, and the yet greater development of the industrial resources of the country, is what is needed for the redemption of Spain from the embarassments inseparable from her struggles upward from the abyss of debt and bad government in which she was left by Ferdinand VII. Cuba has always been looked upon as her great resource in times of financial trouble—indeed, in the ordinary course of her affairs. Without the sums which are extracted from that fertile island by the toil of slaves, most of them piratically stolen from Africa in defiance of treaties and of the public sentiment of the world, she would have been long ago in a condition of hopeless bankruptcy. Our rebellion has done much towards putting an end to her supplies of African labor, by the treaty which the withdrawal of the Slave Senators enabled us to make with England, recognizing the mutual right of search. The Abolition of our Slavery must give a deadly blow to her own in the paradise which her crime has changed into a hell. Necessity will compel her to look the fast approaching necessity of emancipation in the face and to prepare for its sure advent. With serfdom ended in Russia and slavery in the United States and in Brazil, Spain will not long consent to bear alone the infamy of this giant guilt.

The effect of our example upon the two other slaveholding nations will be materially influenced, however, by the way in which we do what remains to be done. As considerations of absolute justice and righteousness were not the immediately acting motives in our own great act of reformation, we cannot expect that they will be more efficient in those which we believe to impend over the Brazils and over Cuba. We have to prove that it is not only safe, but that it is profitable to be just, before we can expect the swiftest following of our example. With moderate wisdom derived from experience in human nature, applied to the solution of this great yet simple problem, we can throw a light on the dark and doubtful path before them that shall make all its obscurities and difficulties disappear. Those nations have not the great difficulty which we had to encounter here in the political involution of our institutions with slavery, so that nothing but a civil war that should shake the one to their foundations could make it possible to deal effectually with the other. The sword having cut the knot that bound us to slavery, we have confidence to believe that the American mind has precisely the qualities demanded for the rearrangement of the component parts of our polity thrown into temporary confusion by the severing of the bloody chain that used to hold them together. Of course, the process must be tentative at first and mistakes will inevitably attend upon it. It will be the resultant of many forces, proceeding forth from many minds, that will give the wise impulse and just direction to Southern Society which is to come out of our confusions. The securing to the blacks of their absolute right to dispose of their labor where and to whom they please, and of their absolute control over the fruits of their industry, is the first and last essential of the whole business. This done, effectually and permanently, and all the rest must follow. We believe that it cannot be done excepting by a military occupation of the rebel States until they are civilized enough to accept the new situation. The black troops furnish precisely the force fittest for this purpose, which need not be a very large one, as we now count numbers. And we are sure that it cannot be secured without the political power being placed in the hands of the blacks on the same terms on which it is confided to the whites. These things being essential to the regeneration of the South, as we believe, we are very sure that the American People will insist upon their being done, and that suddenly.

And in all schemes and plans for the future of the South, White as well as Black, we commend to the consideration of all having power to make them actual the distribution of lands among the laboring classes of all colors. One of the main pillars of the slave system was the necessity it created of large accumulations of land in the hands of a very few owners. It was this that helped to degrade the poor whites even below the level of the lowest slaves. The confiscation of rebel property which should be the certain consequence of the suppression of the rebellion will give ample opportunity for a most righteous Agrarianism. Unless this be done and the soil of the Cotton States be subdivided into small holdings, secured to the black and white laborers on easy terms by the Nation, the work of emancipation will be but half completed. If, through false magnanimity, a mistaken lenity concede to the large landholders the right to retain the lands they have forfeited, they will still virtually hold the control of the blacks and the whites that they do now. Traitors will still have the ascendant in the politics of those States and be a thorn intestine in the side of the nation. Any policy that shall leave them the influence over the laboring population which is inseparable from the monopoly of the land will be worse than suicidal—it will be murderous. We do not believe that it can be adopted. We can hardly be so demented as to strip the only loyal men in the South of power in order to arm traitors with it. The first division made and protection granted for a season against external violence and speculation, the laws of political economy might be trusted with the result. With assured freedom and protection of life and property, capital and skill would hasten to the help of labor, and the largest harvest ever reaped by slaves will have been but a type of that to be garnered up by freemen. Wealth, prosperity, comfort, civilization will strengthen the whole nation as well as bless those constituent parts. The good order, happiness and wealth which will flow from our emancipation and its wise carrying out will instruct Spain and the Brazils that honesty is the best policy of nations as well as of individuals, while the strength, prosperity and greatness of the nation will prove to the world that a Republic is the most powerful and formidable as well as the happiest and freest of all human polities.

DESPAIR OF THE REBELS.

On the 18th inst., the President of the Rebel Confederacy sent to his Congress a message which proves conclusively that the authors of the Rebellion are terrified by the dangers that now surround them, and that they have but a feeble hope of rescuing their cause from utter destruction. Mr. Davis frankly says that "many of our people are dispirited in view of recent military operations of the enemy," and that "the Capital of the Confederate States is now threatened, and is in greater danger than it has heretofore been during the war." He entreats Congress to confer upon him powers heretofore jealously withheld, so that he may seize the coin of the people wherever he can find it, take supplies without paying for them on the spot, force every able-bodied man into the army, and send anybody he pleases to prison without fear of the writ of *habeas corpus*, but the Senate rejected it by a vote of 9 to 6. The other measures, so far as we can learn, were not even considered—probably for want of a quorum. Indeed we have the authority of the *Daily News*, the New York organ of the rebels, for saying that "most of the members had left in a panic, lest they should be cut off from return to their homes by Sherman's advance, and there was no quorum remaining to do business."

Special Dispatch to the New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Monday, March 20.

Among the deserters who arrived from City Point this morning, were two who were on detached duty in Richmond last week, but, being put in the trenches, took the first opportunity to leave the rebel service.

They state that during Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of last week there was the greatest panic in Richmond which has yet occurred in that city. It was occasioned by two things. First, the report, apparently well founded, that Sherman had occupied Raleigh, and was still moving northward. This, of course, is now known to be premature; but, as the rebel government would not allow a word of news to be made public, everybody believed it, and the report had the same effect as if it had been positively true.

The second, and most moving cause of the panic, was Sheridan's daring approach to the city, on the west of a point below Goochland, and then his appearance on the north and east, at Ashland and White House.

The destruction of the James River canal spread consternation, not only among the citizens, but among the military authorities, for it was far more valuable to the rebel commissary than even the Danville Railroad.

The evacuation of Richmond is no longer a matter of private and suppressed conversation in the streets of that city, but it is spoken boldly and openly as an inevitable necessity, especially since the destruction of the James River canal. In view of this the more wealthy were removing themselves and their effects to such parts of the State as they thought would remain unmolested. With the canal gone, it was simply impossible to feed the citizens and the army too.

A large number of negroes were impressed to repair the damages, while at the same time the organization of colored soldiers had commenced. Desertions from the rear of the rebel army are now greater than from the front, and these men declare that as soon as Lee's army is withdrawn from the trenches and put on the march, where the present strict surveillance must necessarily be somewhat abated, it will lose more men by desertion than it can possibly lose by battle, and that it will almost literally fall to pieces.

In connection with the rebel organization of colored troops now going on, the information brought by your enterprising correspondent, Capt. Paul, who accompanied Sheridan's expedition, becomes very interesting. He says that he did not converse with a single slaveholder in the fourteen counties traversed, who was not strongly opposed to the plan, and who failed to admit that it was the death knell of the rebellion. The negroes themselves were fully apprised of the progress being made toward their further enslavement, and 1,500 followed Sheridan's troopers to the Pamunkey and freedom.

Special Dispatch to the New York Herald.

WASHINGTON, March 20.

The evidence is fast accumulating that the rebellion is near its end. Its last gasp cannot be far distant. The Administration has received direct intelligence from Richmond, within the last forty-eight hours, to the effect that Jeff. Davis, as well as General Lee, gives up the ship. Jeff. Davis has also proposed to withdraw from the contest himself and leave the arbitrament of the whole affair to General Lee and General Grant. Let those two generals settle the terms of adjustment.

This fact has come so well authenticated to the Administration that the President and Secretary Seward have had a lengthy consultation over it. But it seems that they do not agree. Secretary Seward urges that they had better accept that mode of settlement, but the President opposes it. The latter declares that if there are no more negotiations the rebels will soon accept his terms offered at Hampton Roads, and we will then get rid of the leaders. But if we leave it to Grant and Lee to arrange terms, the latter will try to retain his place in the United States Army and secure offices for all his associates, even Jeff. Davis. Says the President, "It is said that you are a candidate for the Presidency, Governor; who knows but that the Copperheads may yet run Jeff. Davis against you for this office, if we settle this affair without getting rid of the leaders?"

An arrival from Richmond to-day represents things in the Rebel Capital as almost in a state of chaos. Every person able to render military service of any kind has been seized and put in the ranks. The operations of Sheridan had created the wildest panic, and everybody is looking out for himself.

The person bringing this information had no difficulty in getting to our lines. He says that the prices of everything had more than doubled since Sheridan's wholesale destruction of the canal and railroads. Flour is selling at fifteen hundred dollars per barrel, meat at ten dollars per pound, whiskey at four hundred dollars per gallon, and other things in proportion. Board at the hotels is one hundred dollars per day, and the commonest board per day for laborers is ten dollars.

There was a special Cabinet meeting here this afternoon, it is understood, in reference to the news from Richmond and the impending breaking up of the military forces of the rebellion.

It is also reported here to night, on what is claimed to be good authority, that Jeff. Davis has abdicated in favor of Lee, who will assume the dictatorship, as a last desperate hope of postponing for a brief time the complete breaking up and destruction of the confederacy.

The hasty adjournment of the rebel Congress indicates a desire on the part of its members to escape from the doomed city before capitulation. The horrors of starvation, now at its door, through the exploits of Sheridan, have wholesome terrors for them. Previous to the late raid it had been supposed there was an outlet for civil officers and members of the bogus Congress, if not for Lee's entire army, by way of Lynchburg or Gordonsville; but Sheridan has cut off these channels and left them only the Danville route, which is threatened by Sherman, and is not deemed safe. Bets are freely offered by high officials that Lee will attempt the evacuation of Richmond in ten days; but the important question is, provided he can succeed, where can he go and still obtain supplies for his army? It can hardly be believed that Sheridan's cavalry will remain idle. That General is already famous for his activity. He has consulted with Grant, and doubtless received his orders for a new expedition. We shall soon hear from him and Kilpatrick in a new sphere of action, and in their next efforts they will give the rebellion in Virginia its *coup de grace*. Starvation is now at the doors of Richmond. Escape involves a desperate fight and great loss of life. If successful, will it procure food? *Quien sabe.*

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1865.

The belief that the so called Southern confederacy is about to collapse and give up the ghost has taken possession of almost everybody here, high government officials not excepted. It is known by the Administration that A. H. Stephens has given up the cause, and has said to Jeff. Davis that all is lost. The howl of the Richmond papers over his silence will not, therefore, bring him out of his hiding place. Hunter has also informed Davis to the same effect.

In addition to those facts heretofore published in the *Herald* in reference to General Lee's views, it is officially known here that Lee is hopeless and despondent. It seems that he looks upon the arming of the negroes as practically a failure, for the simple reason that the passage of the act was delayed so long that there is no time left to prepare them for battle. Besides, he declares that the failure to provide for the freedom of those slaves made soldiers makes the plan more than useless. With all this staring him in the face, the Union armies rapidly increasing and his own gradually fading away, he has announced to Davis that he cannot hold Richmond a month longer.

Jeff. Davis, who saw sufficiently clear the doom that awaited them as long ago as the fall of Fort Fisher, and then acknowledged to Blair that they were whipped, is now panic-stricken, and is ready to do anything to get out of his tight place.

President Lincoln fully believes that there will be no more fighting of any consequence, and has full confidence that Lee will surrender his army at no distant day. He is unwilling to agree upon terms to let the rebel leaders down easy, but says they will soon be glad to accept his Hampton Roads propositions—give up slavery, lay down their arms, return to the Union and behave themselves like decent people hereafter. The leaders he believes, will leave the country as soon as they find that they cannot secure terms to ease their fall. It is probable that Mr. Lincoln will remain firm on that point.

A CAPITAL SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

HIS VIEWS ON ARMING SLAVES.

A REBEL flag, captured at Anderson by the 140th Indiana Volunteers, was presented to Gov. Morton on Friday, the 17th inst., in front of the National Hotel in Washington. A large crowd was in attendance. Gov. Morton made a brief speech, in which he congratulated his auditors on the speedy end of the rebellion, and concluded by introducing President Lincoln, whose purity and patriotism were confessed, he said, by all, even among the most violent agitators (applause).

His administration would be recognized as the most important epoch of history. It had struck the blow to slavery (applause) and built up the Republic with a power it never before possessed. If he had done nothing more than put his name to the Emancipation proclamation, that alone would have made his name immortal (applause).

The President addressed the assembly substantially as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A few words only. I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, reside in Illinois, and now here, it is my duty to care equally for the good people of all the States. I am to day glad of seeing it in the power of an Indiana regiment to present this captured flag to the good Governor of their State. And yet I would not wish to compliment Indiana above other States, remembering that all have done so well.

There are but few aspects of this great war on which I have not already expressed my views by speaking or writing. *There is one*—the recent effort of "our erring brethren," sometimes so called, to employ the slaves in their armies. The great question with them has been, "Will the negro fight for them?" They ought to know better than we, and doubtless do know better than we. I may incidentally remark, however, that having in my life heard many arguments—or strings of words meant to pass for arguments—intended to show that the negro ought to be a slave; that if he shall now really fight to keep himself a slave, it will be a far better argument why he should remain a slave than I have ever before heard.

He, perhaps, ought to be a slave, if he desires it ardently enough to fight for it. Or, if one out of four will, for his own freedom, fight to keep the other three in slavery, he ought to be a slave for his selfish meanness. I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for *themselves*, and secondly those who desire it for *others*. Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.

There is one thing about the negro's fighting for the rebels which we can know as well as they can; and that is that they cannot at the same time fight in their armies and stay at home and make bread for them. And this being known and remembered, we can have but little concern whether they become soldiers or not. I am rather in favor of the measure, and would at any time, if I could, have loaned them a vote to carry it. We have to reach the bottom of the insurgent resources; and that they employ, or seriously think of employing the slaves as soldiers, gives us glimpses of the bottom. Therefore I am glad of what we learn on this subject.

The President then retired, while the crowd below saluted him with loud and hearty cheers and the band played a lively tune.

Gov. Morton then stepped forward and remarked that they had now seen the rebel rag, and he proposed that each one in favor of the perpetuity of this great Union take off his hat and give three cheers for the Union flag. The request was responded to with hearty good will. Three hearty cheers were then given for President Lincoln and three more for Gov. Morton, after which the band struck up Yakee Doodle.

LORD DERBY REBUKED.

LORD DERBY, the leader of the British Tories, made a speech, not long since, in which he attempted to show that the relations of Great Britain with the United States were in a critical condition, so much so as to involve the danger of immediate war, and censured the British government for having taken no steps to avert such a calamity. He accused the United States of violating the provisions of a solemn treaty for the purpose of increasing their naval force on the lakes; whereas, in truth, it has only acted in precise accordance with a special provision of the treaty itself. He appealed to the prejudices and the fears of the British people upon the ground that in the United States the great questions of peace and war depend not upon a wise and honorable statesmanship, but upon "the excited passions of popular assemblies." In other words, the United States is a Republic and not a Monarchy, and therefore a dangerous neighbor.

The Manchester *Examiner and Times*, one of the ablest journals in England, replies in the most conclusive manner to Lord Derby's outbreak of "excited passion." We cannot, for lack of space, copy the article in full, but we must not withhold from our readers the following striking paragraph, in which the speech of Lord Derby, for wantonness and violence, is pronounced worse than any one to be found in the records of the American Congress for the last four years.

"We have said that Lord Derby's speech was injudicious. It would have borne this character if it had proceeded from the obscurest member of the Peerage, but how much more when it comes from the lips of its most brilliant orator and most intellectual statesman. Lord Derby is the head of a powerful party. He commands a majority in the House of Lords, and all but a majority in the Commons. The present administration is supposed by many to owe its existence to his forbearance, and it would be no very wonderful event if he were to be in office again in the course of a few months. Lord Derby speaks with the authority of a statesman who may be called upon any day to assume the direction of our foreign policy. It is not uncommon to hear taunts thrown at the alleged incapacity and imprudence of American statesmen. They are said sometimes to lose their heads, to bend before gusts of popular passion, to indulge in violent language for the sake of conciliating the 'mob.' Lord Lyvedon amiably suggests that the American government is not its own master, but is, forsooth, the slave and mouthpiece of a turbulent democracy. If the conduct of the American government during the last four years is not sufficient to prove that neither the President nor his minister stand in any inordinate dread of outside coercion, we do not know what facts would be held convincing. The inuendoes indulged in by these noble lords are as visionary as they are insulting. But, at all events, none of these excuses can be used to palliate the indiscretion of Lord Derby. He dwells in the serenest heights of aristocratic statesmanship. On the strength of a title which dates from Bosworth Field, he looks with calm contempt upon the populace, if not upon the people. He is not held under the tyranny of Democratic rule, and the august House, which he dominates with power supreme, stands at an immeasurable distance from those 'popular assemblies' which are simply the prey of 'excited passions.' Yet we deliberately assert that it would be impossible to select from the records of the United States Congress for the last four years any speech by any member, either of the Senate or the House of Representatives, which would be found to surpass in violence and wantonness the speech which his lordship delivered on Monday night. In the matter of statesmanship, his lordship compares badly with the farmer Senator from Illinois or Wisconsin."

PERSONAL.

Prof. H. E. Peck, of the Oberlin College, Ohio, has been appointed Commissioner and Consul-General to the Republic of Hayti, vice B. F. Whidden, resigned. The salary is seven thousand five hundred dollars per annum.

Mr. Whiting, Solicitor of the War Department, who had been absent from his office for several weeks, in consequence of severe indisposition, returned on the 17th, very much improved, and at once resumed the performance of his official duties.

A large and orderly meeting of colored people was held in Savannah on the 5th instant, to listen to the reading of one of Henry Ward Beecher's sermons. Lieut. A. P. Ketchum, of Gen. Saxton's staff, was the reader, and Rev. Mr. Tiffany made an address.

T. W. Higginson lately delivered a lecture in Newburyport, Mass., on "the Freedmen of South Carolina"—a subject which, alike by observation and experience, he is peculiarly qualified to elucidate. The lecture appears to have given satisfaction to those who heard it.

Frederick Douglass will deliver a lecture for the benefit of the "Summit Hospital School for Colored Soldiers," on Friday evening, the 24th of March, at Concert Hall, Philadelphia. Col. Wagner, the commandant of Camp William Penn, will be present with his fine band.

Prof. Agassiz is about starting on a scientific exploring expedition to the tropical regions of South America. First to test his glacial theory of the changes in the heat of the earth; and, secondly, to collect specimens for a grand museum of comparative zoology. He will have about eight well qualified assistants.

The *Commonwealth* says it is announced that Hon. James Birney of Michigan has been selected for the post of Chief Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau. He has been Lieutenant-Governor, State Senator, and Judge, is a son of James G. Birney, and a thorough anti-slavery man.

The will of Miss Blydenburg, of Durham, N. H., who gave Wm. L. Garrison $1,000, and for charitable and philanthropic purposes connected with the anti-slavery reform the greater part of the residue of her estate, amounting to six or eight thousand dollars, and which was contested by the heirs, has just been sustained after a protracted trial.

We hope there is no mistake in the statement we see made in some quarters, that Vice-President Johnson has pledged himself to total abstinence from intoxicating liquors for the next four years. If this is true, the people will accept it as the best apology he could make for his conduct at the time of his inauguration, and as indicating a strong determination on his part worthily to fulfil the duties of his high position.

Senator Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut, who has been elected by the Senate its President *pro tem.*, is a native of Connecticut, and is a lineal descendant of Miles Standish. He was for some years a prominent member of the Connecticut Legislature, and first took his seat in the United States Senate ten years ago. He will be Vice-President if Andy Johnson dies, and if Mr. Lincoln should also be removed from any cause, he would be President.

Gov. Aiken of South Carolina was the largest slaveholder in all the South. He was never in favor of secession, though wedded to slavery. Since the occupation of Charleston by the Union forces, he has declared free his 750 slaves, and given to each family a portion of land sufficient for its wants. This is certainly a highly honorable act on his part, indicating that his loyalty is of a sort that may be depended upon.

John S. Nicolay, the newly appointed Consul to Paris, is a native of Bavaria, a practical printer, an editor of tact and ability, a lawyer and an accomplished scholar. He edited the Pike County (Ill.) *Free Press* in 1854, was active in the Fremont canvass in 1856, was Assistant Secretary of State of Illinois from 1858 to 1861, and then appointed Private Secretary to Mr. Lincoln. He is well versed in the European languages and in matters of international law, and will, without doubt, satisfactorily discharge the duties of the Paris consulate which have been so well attended to by Mr. Bigelow.

John Bigelow, Esq., formerly one of the editors of the *Evening Post*, and who was, on the death of Mr. Dayton, raised from the Paris Consulate to the post of *Chargé d'affairs*, has been appointed by the President Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the French Court. It is an excellent appointment. The French government has almost simultaneously appointed as Minister to the United States, to succeed M. Mercier, M. de Montholon, late Consul General. It is certainly a curious coincidence that France should send us a Minister raised from the rank of Consul at New York, just as we send them one formerly Consul in Paris.—The statement of the *Tribune*—as yet uncontradicted—that the French Mission was first offered to James Gordon Bennett and by him declined, seems incredible, and we do not like to believe it.

George Thompson, the British champion of Universal Liberty, addressed a large and intelligent audience in the City Hall, Burlington, Vt., on the 13th inst. He depicted in strong but truthful colors the contrast between America as he found it 30 years ago and its condition at the present time in respect to the crime and curse of slavery, and in conclusion painted for the country a bright future, when the Union should be restored and liberty be enjoyed by all the people, without distinction of complexion or race. The *Free Press* says: "The lecturer spoke with difficulty, owing to a very severe cold; but showed at times touches of the eloquence and fire which have distinguished him as a speaker."

WHICH IS RIGHT?—In the Springfield *Republican* (weekly) of last Saturday we find the following paragraph:

"Mr. Chase, as Senator, inclined to the "State Suicide" theory; as Chief-Justice he finds that it will not stand the test of constitutional law, and he has just rendered a decision upsetting it. The case was that of the Venice and cargo, seized as a prize near New Orleans, about the middle of May, 1862. The opinion of the Court is that after the date of Gen. Butler's proclamation of May 1st, 1862, the United States had firm and stable possession of New Orleans, and that after that date the property of a resident of the city was not in any sense an enemy's property, and therefore was not subject to capture and confiscation in a prize court. This decision applied to the question of reconstruction sweeps away a whole brood of intrusive quibbles and sophisms, and makes the whole matter simple and practically easy."

In the Boston *Commonwealth* of the same date we find the following:

"EXEUNT BANKS!—On Friday last, Chief-Justice Chase rendered the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of "Elizabeth Alexander *vs.* the United States," to recover two million dollars' worth of cotton, captured by the navy on the Mississippi. The decision of the Circuit Court of Illinois, declaring the cotton a prize, was reversed, and the Court held that it ought to have been delivered over to the Treasury agents, to be disposed of. In the argument it was claimed that the cotton was captured in the enemy's country, and *the Court ruled that the government organized and the elections held in Louisiana under Gen. Banks's military order are void.* The Chief-Justice has since put in writing this opinion, omitting his views upon the status of Louisiana, not wishing to prejudice a matter which is to be largely discussed in the next Congress."

Each of these paragraphs, we infer, relates to one and the same case. Which of them tells the truth? Not having seen Judge Chase's opinion, we cannot answer; but we suspect it will turn out, upon examination, that the Chief-Justice has made no decision inconsistent with the "State Suicide" theory as interpreted by those who hold it.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1865.

IN my last letter I alluded to the apparent inconsistency of those Republican members of Congress who insist that no rebel State (being now loyal) shall be recognized as in the Union unless a new Constitution has been formed in which it is provided that black men shall vote, these gentlemen at the same time making no effort *at home* to allow colored men to participate in the elections there.

I am informed that I mistake the position of some of these persons—that they insist upon negro suffrage at the South, not because they are fully in favor of negro suffrage generally, as a matter of principle, but because they are fully convinced that a majority of the white voters of the rebel States are disloyal, and will continue to be so for a long time to come, and that the people of the loyal States must choose between making the loyal black men of the South the arbiters of its destiny, and reducing it to a territorial condition, to be governed by Congress. It is a question which must be decided according to the facts. If it is true that the Southern people can *never* be trusted with slavery abolished and the leaders driven from the country, then they must be managed, governed by some outside influences. The colored people must be vested with the right of voting—or Congress must govern the people of those States. Republicans in the last Congress differed widely upon *the facts*. A majority of the Senate evidently believed that the people of Louisiana can be trusted hereafter as loyal men and anti slavery men. There is no intention to allow disloyal men to vote either in Louisiana or Tennessee. The Constitution, or at least the laws passed by the Legislature, prevent it. The North is entitled to some security for the future. The rebels certainly should not be indiscriminately pardoned unless it is safe to do so. The President is inclined to trust all Southern citizens who ask for pardon and assert their desire to come into the old Union (or the new) and obey the laws of the land. I suppose he argues that unless we are to carry on the war forever, we must make a beginning with Peace somewhere and at some time. So he will favor reconstruction in any rebel State where the people profess loyalty and are willing to agree to emancipation. This is the only test he imposes—emancipation and unqualified abolition. As we do not generally permit negroes to vote at the North, he would not exact the condition of the South. Such is his position, whether it be correct or not.

It strikes me that the only stable ground for an advocate of negro suffrage to stand upon is that of the right of the black man everywhere to vote. Let the condition imposed be one of education and intelligence, and it will be fair enough, but our patriotic Congressmen dare not raise this issue at home, for there are Irish voters who would not come up to the mark, may be; and it is a singular fact that it is impossible in this country to establish a rule that will decrease the number of voters. It is far easier to enlarge the boundaries. It is impossible to establish an educational test with the white race, for the party that attempts it will lose power, the foreign voting population is so numerous. The question will be the broad one of allowing all black men in the rebel States to vote, just as the white ones do—or not.

The next Congress must settle this important question. As the Republicans have two-thirds of each House they can do whatever they choose.

The event of the week that has produced the most excitement here is the rapid decline in coin, caused, as is supposed, by the sale of the 7-30 notes, and the fact that Mr. McCulloch is the Secretary of the Treasury! There is certainly no military reason why gold should have tumbled *now* from 200 to 160. No disaster has happened to our armies, but we have not now a victory. The fighting is yet to come, and it is to be hard fighting too. The contest will be more severe than is generally expected. Lee is going to make a very hard fight of his Spring campaign, and has strong hopes of inflicting such a sudden, crushing blow upon Grant or Sherman, as will carry the war along into another year. He may probably succeed in achieving *one* victory, but with the loss of one battle Grant will be successful in the campaign. Let us h

tion, than for anything else; for they still feel that it is noble to have the colored people.

JAMES LYNCH.

LETTER FROM FRANCES D. GAGE.

LAMBERTSVILLE, N. J., March 13, 1865.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

My last letter was dated on the banks of the great Father of Waters, and amid its scenes of conservatism that almost shook my faith in the great work of humanity going on in that region.

Now the flat has gone forth, the colored man shall not be a voter; at least so has decided that Constitutional Convention gathered to propound to the people of Missouri a new law for their guidance through the coming years of confusion. But their failure is partial success, as all success is partial failure. The true friends of liberty, who stood in their places and spoke their bold, uncompromising words, have stirred the hearts of men. It is a wonderful thing to enjoy the right of discussion, as now it is enjoyed in a great growing State, only yesterday held in chains, so that no man dared to speak of the peculiar institution, lest the people should come forth to stone him, as they did Stephen of old, for his truth's sake.

We who have borne the burthen and heat of the day of anti-slavery in that great, beautiful city, St. Louis, cannot forget so soon the fierce malice of those who hugged this viper to their bosoms, and to rejoice with exceeding great joy is only natural, even though all is not accomplished.

But I sat down to tell you of other changes, not exactly to the nation or the State—though I have heard it asserted by those who ought to know "that a marble dropped on the pavement of a city of these United States would jar the people of the Imperial Kingdom under our feet; only they, perhaps, would not be nervously sensitive enough to recognize the effect. Just so, and my leaving the Great West and locating myself on the banks of the Delaware *has undoubtedly* made a vibration in the nation, yet amid other shocks not perceivable: Here am I, not like St. Paul in my own hired house, but going to be so soon as the Spring violets shall tell of April days, and the times of flitting come, when the restless ones of the race, trying to better their condition, change places.

"Lambertsville! what sends you there?" asked a friend. "Liberty," was my reply.

"Is there not room enough for you on the great prairies."

Room? No. Illinois has repealed her black laws, and that or something else has filled every tenement, from Galena to Cairo, with people. Her lands, covered with timber, if there be but a log cabin and stable to match, are more expensive than cultivated homes elsewhere. Missouri is all astir. The East is thronging to the West, and it was not fair that we should not make room for them; and so when circumstances squared me round and bade me take myself straightway into the land of peaches and McClellanites, how could I help moving eastward? And so, for this year at least, my home will be in this pleasant village, where there seems to be much of all that life needs to make it calm and happy.

On my way from the West circumstances again impelled a journey over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. At Bell Air, below Wheeling, we were detained one night and an hour before leaving we were brought face to face with a car load of Andersonville prisoners. I do not intend to harrow up the feelings of the readers of the STANDARD by describing (or attempting to describe—for adequate description is impossible) the work which the slaveholding chivalry has wrought upon our noble soldiers. Only to show what it has not wrought is my present purpose.

One man among the crowd had his wife with him. She had met him at Annapolis two months since, and there had nursed him all this time, wooing and winning him back to life by her potent love and care. Oh! what a wreck of manhood he was! Skeleton is the only word. How the dark despair had lined and relined that noble face! I shuddered as I looked, yet his wife said, with an almost jubilant smile, as she laid her hand on his head, "Oh! my dear lady, he has improved wonderfully; he is well now."

Well now! What could she mean? A poor fellow lifted his head and said, languidly, "Ten thousand like him died, and he would have died, too, if it hadn't been for her."

I expressed some words of indignation, suggestive of retaliation.

"My God!" said the man, with all the force he was able to control, "don't talk of that; I don't want any of them to suffer as we have done. God forgive them—I do." Only a murmur, as if that was the feeling, stirred the group that sat under the shed to avoid the pitiless storm. The rebels had not destroyed his humanity. So broken, so sad, so suffering, yet without revenge; stopped on their way for hours, yet patiently waiting, fainting, and with tottering steps pacing to and fro without a murmur or a word against anyone. Many of them only had furloughs of thirty days. Oh! what a lesson they have learned! That nought on earth of disappointment, sorrow or pain can ever reach the ultimate of the slaveholders' wrath; that God has nothing in store for them that can add one pang above what they have already endured.

Oh! what missionaries they will be, that army of skeletons, scattering up and down the States, telling in low, wailing tones of weakness and despair the frightful story of wrong of which the earth hath not heard the like. What will slavery be to them in all time to come—to them and their children and their children's children, but the direst curse God has permitted to fall on the children of men? And yet these men could say of their crucifiers, "Forgive them, they know not what they do." What miracles hath Liberty wrought!

F. D. GAGE.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN ALBANY.—Mr. Douglass repeated his lecture on "Negro Suffrage" in Tweddle Hall, Albany, on the evening of the 16th of March. The audience of about 750 persons comprised many of the most prominent citizens, among whom were Gov. Fenton, Thurlow Weed, and several members of the Legislature now in session. An unusual proportion of colored friends were in attendance, as a meeting of delegates to organize an Equal Rights State League held its first session that day. Charles G. Ames, Minister of the Unitarian Society in Albany, introduced Mr. Douglass, as "a member of the human race, in good and regular standing." The lecture which followed was a compact and well put argument, showing that the general welfare, as well as the natural rights of the negro, can best be secured by his full and complete political enfranchisement. Out of some twenty-five "first-class lectures" given in Albany during the present season, it is safe to say that no one has produced a deeper impression, and few have been received with such decided marks of approbation. J. Sella Martin was on the platform, and made a brief speech at the close.

FAIR FOR THE ORPHANS OF THE FREEDMEN.—We invite the attention of our readers, especially those of the city and vicinity, to the advertisement in another column of the "Ladies' Fair for the Benefit of the Orphans of the Freedmen," to be held at Dodworth's Hall, 806 Broadway, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of next week, and to be followed on Friday evening by a Concert, and on Saturday evening by Tableaux, for the same great object. Let all who can aid the enterprise, whether by the contribution beforehand of articles or money or by purchases after the Fair opens, not fail of doing so.

THE THIRTY FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which lately appeared in full in these columns, has been issued in pamphlet form. Among the papers which record for the instruction of posterity the progress of the anti-slavery cause, step by step, from the day of its feeble beginning to that of its final triumph, none are more inspiring or valuable than the Reports of this Society, from the pen of Mary Grew. They will be read with delight long after their author has passed to her final reward.

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS.—We are sorry to learn that the bill granting equal school rights and privileges, after passing the Rhode Island Assembly by a vote of 33 to 30, was postponed in the Senate till next session. One effort more, and the measure will succeed.

TENNESSEE.—Over 35,000 votes have been counted up for ratification of the State Constitution, and a large portion of East Tennessee yet unheard from. The vote on the gubernatorial and legislative ticket is smaller than that for ratification.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

An official dispatch reports Sherman's capture and occupation of Fayetteville, N. C., on the 10th of March. The army set out from Savannah in the middle of January, crossing the South Carolina border in two wings, which united on the South Carolina railroad and thence marched with little opposition from the enemy directly through the State. The army marched a distance of about 450 miles in the space of about 45 days, entirely shut out from communication with friends, covering a tract 35 miles wide, living upon a rich country, and out maneuvering the enemy's forces so that no serious fighting occurred. In consequence of Sherman's strategy, he forced the rebels to evacuate Charleston without the necessity of a battle; one of his famous "flank movements" producing that result. Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was fired accidentally from the burning cotton to which the retreating rebel forces had set fire in the streets; a high wind scattering the burning fragments over the city, producing a terrible conflagration, which all the efforts of our soldiers could not stay till 3,000 buildings had been burned. Fourteen cities and towns were captured. Hundreds of miles of railroad in South Carolina were totally destroyed by burning the ties and twisting the rails. Thousands of bales of cotton were burned. Eighty-five cannon were taken. Twenty-five thousand animals were confiscated. Fifteen thousand slaves were set free, and 4,000 white refugees received aid and transportation. The rivers ran black with tons of rebel gunpowder which were thrown into them. In various skirmishes, none of which rose to the dignity of a battle, Sherman lost about a thousand men, including the missing, and the rebel loss is estimated at 1,200 killed and wounded, besides 3,000 more who were taken prisoners.

There is a report, not yet authenticated, that Sherman has taken Goldsboro. He is, at any rate, marching on toward Richmond. He established communications with Gen. Schofield at Fayetteville, which is at the head of navigation of Cape Fear river; thus drawing supplies directly from Wilmington, which becomes the new base of operations.

Gen. Schofield's co-operative movements from the coast have been very successful. After defeating Bragg with heavy loss, and driving him across the Neuse river, Schofield advanced, and on the 13th instant occupied Kinston. He is within easy distance of Sherman, and firmly established.

SHERIDAN'S RAID.

The correspondent of the *Times*, who accompanied Sheridan in his late successful campaign, writes to that journal from White House, Va., 17th inst:

"For nineteen days, Gen. Sheridan has roamed almost at will with his well-disciplined troopers throughout that portion of Virginia north of the James River [embracing 13 Counties], and, by the exercise of a little strategy, thwarting all attempts of the enemy to impede his progress or interrupt his plans, so that the expedition has been fruitful of more substantial results than any that has preceded it. During this period of time the whole command has been continuously and well supplied with rations obtained from the enemy's storehouses, excepting only the two articles of coffee and sugar. Well-cured bacon and hams, sweet, fresh flour, honey, butter, vegetables, meal, mutton, beef and molasses, were some of the supplies to be obtained almost every day.

"As a part of the substantial results may be classed the thorough disabling of about 200 miles of railway—principally used for supplying the troops defending Richmond with materials of war and provisions—by the destruction of bridges, culverts and the railway track itself. This work never has been done more thoroughly before. Next, and perhaps the first in importance, is the complete destruction of the James River and Kanawha Canal, passing through one of the most extensive grain-growing districts in the world, and also used almost exclusively to feed Lee's army. So completely is this destroyed that years must elapse before it can be repaired again, if at all. Some people, residents near the canal, say that no attempt will be made to repair this great highway during the existing war. The same may be said of the railroads, for the enemy have not the men or material under their command.

"The destruction of these sources of supply has created a greater panic in Richmond than has existed there before during the war. It has done more to dishearten the people and demoralize the rebel soldiers than all the disasters of the last campaign and the evacuation of seaport towns combined. I know this to be the case, having been in daily communication with Richmond through citizens, prisoners and deserters, for the last two weeks.

"The expedition has been a success, also, in the destruction and use of other public property. In this is included all kinds, because everything practically throughout rebeldom belongs to the Government. The quantity of provisions, grain and forage actually consumed by the troops, and the negroes who fell in with them along the route, was alone immense, but the quantity destroyed was much greater. In materials of war destroyed at one place (Greenwood Station) the loss was estimated by a Confederate officer at $2,000,000. Hundreds of hogsheads of leaf tobacco, buildings filled with manufactured tobacco, machinery, cars, cannon, shells, bridges, apple-jack and cotton go to make up a portion of the property destroyed to the value of many millions of dollars, and is just so much of the enemy's capital expended.

"The column returns to our lines after accomplishing all the work laid out for it almost intact. Only four men have been killed in battle; three or four severely, and half-a-dozen slightly wounded. One man died from exposure, and one was drowned in the Shenandoah River. The wear and tear of horseflesh necessarily has been great, owing to the bad roads and the continuous service employed without rest; but a large number of horses and mules were captured, and there are only a few dismounted men. The men themselves were never in better spirits, and were never more disposed to risk their lives for the country, when necessary."

THE REBEL ATTEMPTS TO RAISE COLORED TROOPS.

Majors Pegram and Turner have issued an appeal through the Richmond *Sentinel* to the people of Virginia, stating they have been authorized to proceed at once with the organization of companies to be composed of persons of color, free and slave, who are willing to volunteer under the recent acts of Congress and Legislature of Virginia. Gen. Lee, in a letter to Gen. Ewell, dated March 10th, says: "I hope it will be found practicable to raise a considerable force in Richmond. I attach great importance to the result of the first experiment, and nothing should be left undone to make it successful. The sooner this can be accomplished the better." The two recruiting officers mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph, recommend "that each recruit be furnished, when practicable, with a gray jacket and pants, cap and blanket, and with a good serviceable pair of shoes, but no delay should take place in forwarding the recruits in order to obtain these articles."

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, who *hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

SALE OF EMANCIPATED NEGROES.

A letter from Texas says the two thousand negroes captured at Berwick Bay were mostly taken to Houston and sold at auction by Snyder, he knowing they had been legally emancipated by the United States, and were only liable to be treated as prisoners of war.

RECRUITING IN CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sunday, March 12, 1865.

Recruiting agents are doing a lively business. The colored men flock to the recruiting offices by the dozen, and eagerly have themselves enlisted. Two hundred have been known to enlist in one day. It is amusing to observe how readily they yield to the persuasions of their kindred in arms. Bounty-money, allowances, rations, soldier-clothes, chevrons, all have an influence in inducing the colored men to enter the ranks. Of course, the holders of slaves were greatly vexed at first to see their servants leaving them without asking consent, but finally they became accustomed to the word "freedmen," and, in order to make the best of what they could not prevent, declared themselves pleased to get rid so easily of a nuisance. By this process, one man was pleased by having seven of his slaves bid him "good-bye," and another party, on the same principle, must have been perfectly delighted to see fifty of his servants march off to join the Union army. The men thus enlisted are sent to different portions of the department, where they are drilled by experienced officers in the manual and field exercise. Several regiments of colored men have been recently formed.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

OUR DEFENDERS ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Natchez, Miss., Feb.—.—At Natchez, as at Vicksburg Memphis and Orleans, there are regiments of colored troops. In speaking of them, let me pay a just tribute to a great and good man who has been entrusted with the work of organizing negroes into soldiers. I speak now of General Lorenzo Thomas, the Adjutant-General of the United States armies. In 1863 he was sent down here to provide for a helpless people suddenly thrown upon our hands. He started out, and found everything in a confusion that cannot be described. At one place they were sick and dying with small-pox, with no medical treatment; at another, they were starving, wandering half naked over the country, or huddled together in helpless distress. What a spectacle! What a work was before him. All for one man to accomplish! I know the case when I tell you that night after night was passed by General Thomas in sleepless agony of mind, forming plan after plan. Something must be done, and it was done. From the droves of negroes scattered everywhere like sheep, arose regiments of colored troops. It was with *great* difficulty that men could be found to officer them. The old men, women, and children were placed on what were called home farms, where they were taught to support themselves. The abandoned plantations were leased, and, as far as possible (although it was not guaranteed), protection was given them by the military that the crops might be raised. Gradually everything fell into the wise and liberal system prepared by General Thomas. It offered inducements also for the education of the negroes, and many minor though important provisions were made. Behold the great result! The Army of the James has a corps of negro troops. The Mississippi is garrisoned by negro troops; they are increasing daily, and the fall of Mobile will no doubt offer General Thomas a new field of labor. In Kentucky alone 20,000 troops have been raised by him. Before he is done it will be 25,000. Along the Mississippi the fine plantations are being worked by energetic lessees—although Gen. Thomas has transferred them to the Treasury Department. The work has been done, and to General Lorenzo Thomas is due the gratitude of every citizen of the United States. His labor was not in fighting battles, and therefore it is in a measure overlooked. But if renown is not awarded him now, when death has closed his eyes history will remind us, in a bright page, of what he did. It will tell us how the honest soldier worked for his country with unceasing devotion; and I can say, a Higher Power will reward him for having done his whole duty in the greatest of all causes.—*Cor. Phil. Press.*

INCIDENTS OF SHERMAN'S MARCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Fayetteville, March 12.—In every instance the negroes have proved our friends, giving us valuable information relative to the enemy's movements; also, acting as scouts and spies, informing us where the enemy had concealed their cattle and the like. The poor, despised negroes looked upon our arrival as fulfilling the millenium—the days of "jubilon." In all cases they have proved our friends, sheltering and feeding our prisoners and giving us valuable information. They possess a large share of shrewdness, and take a more just view of the present struggle than we generally gave them credit for. They look upon the Yankees as their friends; on their old taskmasters as their inveterate enemies.

While halting at the plantation of a Mr. People I had a quiet chat with an old, patriarchial negro.

"How do you like the Yanks?" I asked the old African.

"Yeah, yeah! Yanks fine; not like the tallow-faced rebs look, who lib on corn coffee and swash all their libes?" While the old African was making this philosophical distinction I overheard a little picaninny whisper:

"Mamma, de Yanks have good feet—not like the debil, as massa says."

The planters told all sorts of absurd stories to their slaves about our men to frighten them at our approach. They informed them that we were killing all the male children, and yoking the men and women as oxen, or selling them in Cuba.

The famous white slave came into our lines this morning and reported to Gen. Logan. His name is Jas. Le Roach, of French descent by his father. His great grandmother was a pretty Indian girl, and reared by a Mr. Torrens, by whose son she had a daughter, who was sold to a Mr. Western, of Charleston, who had a daughter by her. The latter was the mother of our slave, and kept in servitude by her half-sister, a Mrs. Smith, who afterwards sold both mother and children to heartless traders, who trafficked them over the country. This man was about forty years of age, slight build, long sandy hair and whiskers, and evidently without a particle of African blood in his veins; yet he was the bondman of his kinsman.

A man named William Clark, formerly of Col. Walford's cavalry, came into our lines to-day. He is an escaped prisoner, and had been concealed for eight weeks by the poor negroes. He remained in the swamps by day, and joined his kind protectors at night. Though they would be liberally rewarded for betraying him, still they were faithful. We have always found the despised negro faithful to us. Their masters have lately tried to conciliate them. An old negro said to me: "Massa 'come so kind; though Massa cross, he'd drink out of the same gourd with the poor nigger."

Near Columbia some of our men, escorted by niggers and escaped prisoners, paid a visit to a noted ruffian, a second Legree, who kept a pack of bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting down niggers and escaped Union prisoners. The boys disposed of his dogs as they have done with all the bloodhounds they come across, burned down his house and place, then tied himself to a tree and got some strapping niggers to flog him, which they did with a will, repaying in the *lex talionis* style.

The slaves around Laurenburg at the opening of our campaign through Carolina, had organized a party with the intention of forcing their way to our lines. The plot was discovered, and at one of their meetings they were surrounded by parties of the home guards, captured, and after a kind of mock trial, twenty-five were hung. Capt. Robert Johnson, Col. Robert Dacker and Capt. Tate, of Richmond County, were the leaders in this barbarous business.—*Cor. of the Herald.*

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

The negroes in this city remind me more of Georgia experiences than any I have seen in South Carolina before. I suppose it is because they are house servants, and have always lived in a city, where there has been more or less of refinement and education. But the plantation negroes are the most ignorant and debased of any I have ever seen.

As near as I can ascertain, it has been the effort of the South Carolina master to reduce his slaves as far down in the scale of human nature and as near the mules and oxen, which he owned in common with them, as possible. It makes one's blood tingle to see the evidences of the heartlessness and cruelty of these white men. I firmly believe that we are God's instruments of justice, and that they are at last called to account for this shameless crime.

To-night we are encamped upon the place of one of South Carolina's most high-blooded chivalry—one of those persons who believed himself to have been brought into the world to rule over his fellow-creatures, a sort of Grand Pasha, and all that sort of thing.

How the negro pioneers are making away with the evergreens and rose bushes of his artistically arranged walks, flower beds and drives! These black men in blue are making brooms of his pet shrubs, with which they clear the ground in front of the tents.

A great many negroes have joined our columns, but it has been from no lack of caution upon the part of the masters. Anticipating the approach of the Union army, the slaveholders have driven off their horses, and when they were able, their negroes, to some safe place. The latter, however, have, when they could do so, hidden in the swamps, and come out and joined us when we passed along. As usual, they are our best friends, giving invaluable information of the roads and the movements of the enemy. They are always our safest guides, and their fidelity is never questioned.

The skirmishers who had first entered Columbia gathered in groups and lustily cheered their much-loved chief, the chorus was taken up by the negroes who lined the sidewalk and followed the column, and the stranger looker-on would have believed that this was the triumphal return to his house of some favorite hero, rather than the conqueror who had struck another blow at the heart of a people who hate him and his with the hatred of incarnate devils. The negroes shouted, as I have said, and danced along the way, clapping their hands with exclamations of unbounded joy.

"Tank de Almighty God, Mr. Sherman has come at last. We knew it, we prayed for de day, and de Lord Jesus heard our prayers. Mr. Sherman has come wid his company."

One fat old woman said to him, while shaking him by the hand, which he always gladly gives to these poor people, "I prayed dis long time for yer, and de blessing ob de Lord is on yer. But yesterday afternoon, when yer stopped trowing de shells into de town, and de soldiers run away from de hill ober dar, I thout dat General Burygar had driven you away, for dey said so; but here yer am dun gone. Bress de Lord, yer will hab a place in heaben; yer will go dar, sure."

There have been many prophecies and theories advanced as to the possible future of the slaves and their owners, but I never thought that the day would come to me when South Carolina slaveholders would beg that I should take away their slaves—not because the negroes have been unfaithful, not that they would be unkind when we went away, for a lady bore witness, with tears in her eyes, to their attentions and kindness on the night of the fire, but she said:

"I know they wish to go with your army, and I beg of you to take them, for I have nothing for them to do, and cannot feed them. We have scarcely food for our own mouths, much less theirs."

These requests are not isolated, but general. The motives which prompt them are extended whenever we march; but it is a singular development of the war that South Carolinians should petition us to give freedom to the many slaves, to retain whose servitude they have sacrificed so much of the best life-blood of the land.

As I am writing, I can hear the exquisite music of the Thirty-third Massachusetts band, who are serenading one of the general officers. This is the best band in the army, and the favorite of all of us.

They are playing operatic and national airs. There was a time when Massachusetts men were not permitted in this chivalric State. The wretches who insulted Judge Hoar and his daughter have not been consulted in this matter. Yes; there is that soul-stirring anthem, "John Brown," and "Rally round the flag," and the rest. When our troops marched into Columbia the other day the bands commenced and ended with "Hail Columbia."

I happened to be present this afternoon (March 3d) at one of those interviews which so often occur between Gen. Sherman and the negroes. The conversation was piquant and interesting, not only as being characteristic of both parties, but it was the more significant because, on the part of the General, I believe it a fair expression of his feelings on the slavery question.

A party of ten or fifteen negroes had just found their way through the lines from Cheraw. Their owners had carried them from the vicinity of Columbia to the other side of the Pedee, with their mules and horses, which they were running away from our army. The negroes had escaped, and were on their way back to find their families. A more ragged set of human beings would not have been found out of the slave States, or perhaps Italy. These negroes were of all ages, and had stopped in front of the General's tent, which was pitched a few feet back from the sidewalk of the main street.

Several officers of the army, among them Gen. Slocum, were gathered round, interested in the scene. The General asked them:

"Well, men, what can I do for you—where are you from?"

"Wese jus come from Cheraw. Massa took us with him to carry mules and horses away from youins."

"You thought we would get them. Did you wish us to get the mules?"

"Oh, yes, massa, dat's what I wanted. We knowed youins cumin, and I wanted you to hav dem' mules; but no use, dey heard dat youins on de road, and nuthin would stop dem. Why, as we cum along, de cavalry run away from the Yanks as if they fright to deth. Dey jumped into de river, and some of dem lost dere hosses. Dey frightened at the very name ob Sherman."

Some one at this point said: "That is Gen. Sherman who is talking to you."

"God bress me, is you Mr. Sherman?"

"Yes, I am Mr. Sherman."

"Dats him, au' nuff," said one.

"Is dat de great Mr. Sherman that w'es heard ob so long," said another.

"Why, dey so frightened at your berry name dat dey run right away," shouted a third.

"It is not me that they are afraid of," said the General; "the name of another man would have the same effect with them if he had this army. It is these soldiers that they run away from."

"Oh no," they all exclaimed, "It's de name of Sherman, su'; and we hab wanted to see you so long while you trabbel all roun jis what you like to go. Dey said dat dey wanted to git you a little furder on and den dey whip all your soldiers; but God bress me, you keep cumin' and a cumin' and dey allers git out."

"Dey mighty fraid ob you, sar; day say you kill de colored men, too," said an old man, who had not heretofore taken part in the conversation.

With much earnestness, Gen. Sherman replied:

"Old man, and all of you, understand me. I desire that bad men should fear me, and the enemies of the government which we are all fighting for. Now we are your friends; you are now free." "Tank you, Massa Sherman," was ejaculated by the group). You can go where you please; you can come with us or go home to your children. Wherever you go you are no longer slaves. You ought to be able to take care of yourselves." ("We is; we will.") You must earn your freedom, then you will be entitled to it, sure; you have a right to be all that you can be, but you must be industrious, and earn the right to be men. If you go back to your families, and I tell you again you can go with us if you wish, you must do the best you can. When you get a chance go to Beaufort or Charleston, where you will have a little farm to work for yourselves."

The poor negroes were filled with gratitude and hope by these kind words, uttered in the kindest manner, and they went away with thanks and blessings on their lips.

During the skirmishing one of our men who, by the way, was a forager, was slightly wounded. The most serious accident of the day occurred to a negro woman, who was in a house where the rebels had taken cover. When I saw this woman, who would not have been selected as a type of South Carolina female beauty, the blood was streaming over her neck and bosom from a wound in the lobe of her ear, which the bullet had just clipped and passed on.

"What was it that struck you, aunty?" I asked her.

"Lor bress me, massa, I dun know, I jus fell right down."

"Didn't you feel anything, nor hear any sound?"

"Yes, now I 'member, I heerd a s-z-z-z-z, and den I jus knock down. I drap on de groun'. I'se so glad I not dead, for if I died den de bad man would git me, cos I dance lately a heap."

Summary.

The colored people of Charleston are arranging to have a grand procession in honor of the arrival of their liberators.

Jerome Clark, alias "Sue Mundy," was hung at Louisville on Thursday, in pursuance of his sentence. He protested that, at the time of his capture and since the commencement of the war, he has been a Confederate soldier.

WHAT OUR FARMS YIELD.—Statistics just issued by the Department of Agriculture show that while the Farms of the loyal States, in 1863 produced crops worth $955,764,322, those of 1864 yielded no less than $1,504,543,690. This is certainly a satisfactory increase, and a remarkable one, considering the circumstances.

LEE AND THE NEGRO.—The last number of Frank Leslie's newspaper has an illustration exhibiting a negro tied to a post and a driver lashing him. Lee appears presenting a musket and exclaiming: "Hold on there, driver; we want Sambo now to fight for liberty and independence. You can thrash him as much as you like when he comes back."

A slave girl in North Carolina, who belonged to Mr. Ansley, was a pupil in one of the day-schools. She frequently caused disturbance in school by laughing. Her teacher asked her if she used to laugh as much when she was a slave; she replied, quickly, "I never saw nothin' to laugh *at* till the Yankees took Newbern."

NEGRO REJOICINGS AT NASHVILLE.—*Louisville, March* 20, 1865.—The colored citizens of Nashville had a grand procession to-day in celebration of the ratification by the people of the revised Constitution of Tennessee, which declares all slaves forever free. Upwards of five thousand joined in the procession, consisting of colored soldiers, barbers, etc., preceded by a band of music. The ceremonies wound up by speeches by colored orators.

PRIVATE THEATRICALS.—An entertainment at Roxbury, on Tuesday evening, for the benefit of the Hospital for Women and Children, demonstrated superior histrionic ability in several of the performers. Especially was this the case with two daughters and a son-in-law of Mr. A. Bronson Alcott, and several daughters and a son of Mr. Elizur Wright. The Jacobites and The Cricket on the Hearth were the pieces presented. An appreciative audience contributed handsomely to the funds of this deserving charity.—*Commonwealth.*

SOUTH CAROLINA MEANNESS.—The people of South Carolina, despite all their boasted chivalry, submitted to Yankee rule and usurpation with neither grace nor dignity. In Georgia we had to respect the high-toned feeling of the planters, for they yielded with a dignity that won our admiration. In Carolina the inhabitants, with a fawning, cringing subserviency, hung around our camps craving a bit to eat, while our foragers disinterred barrels of pork and sweet potatoes around their premises.—*Army Cor. of the Herald.*

WHITE LOYALTY IN CHARLESTON.—No public manifestation of satisfaction on account of the arrival of the Union forces has been made by the white loyalists yet, and an attempt to organize a brigade of them has been abandoned as impracticable. The officer who attempted to raise it declared that he found that "the best of the residents of Charleston would be the worst kind of Copperheads up North," although he did not blame them as he did their erring Northern brethren, because they had no opportunity to know any better.—*Cor. Tribune.*

DR. LEWIS'S NORMAL INSTITUTION FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION.—Dr. Dio Lewis's class, at Lexington, gave the seventh commencement exercises at the institution on Wednesday last. There was a large number of invited guests present from Boston. The exercises consisted of gymnastic exercises by the graduating class; vocal and instrumental music; brief speeches by well-known gentlemen, and the presentation of diplomas. The exercises was an excellent one, and the exercises proved of the most interesting character. The school is doing fine service.—*Commonwealth.*

THE RELATIVE MERITS OF BUTLER AND BANKS.—An "intelligent contraband," who lectured in Waltham, last Saturday evening, excited a smile from his audience in narrating how he came into our lines in Louisiana, and what he observed, as thus: "You sees, I got tru de line, and was taken to the grate Gin'ral Banks. Now, de Gin'ral, he's done var' well—dat is, purty well—for he hasn't got quite the rite sort o' head; not like Gin'ral Butler's—he's (stroking his forehead), the rite kind o' head for our people." The discriminating speaker hardly knew the town he was in, much less that Gen. Banks's mother and sister were in the audience!—*Commonwealth.*

SCHOOL AT CHARLESTON, S. C.—James Redpath, of Boston, and Kane O'Donnell, of Philadelphia, were invited by the military authorities to reopen the public schools, and reorganize the system of education on the most liberal basis. They accepted, and the school buildings were immediately taken possession of, and a bureau of instruction established. Whites and blacks were being educated alike, at the last accounts. But who appeared to object to it, think you, kind reader? Why, Frederick A. Sawyer, formerly usher in the Brimmer school of this city, afterwards a teacher in Charleston, who last Fall escaped from the clutches of the rebels by Masonic influence, was heard during the Presidential canvass in this vicinity, and has gone back to Charleston to trade!—*Commonwealth.*

A COPPERHEAD EDITOR IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, referring to Mr. Garrison's reported purpose to discontinue the *Liberator*, says, "He had better, and then go and hang himself. The blood of millions of innocents men is upon his garments." Who can doubt, if the writer of the above sentence had lived in Jerusalem a little over 1800 years ago, that he would have swelled the mob that cried out "crucify him! crucify him," or that he would have attributed all the woes that came upon that sinful city to the advent and influence of the Messiah? It is perfectly safe to predict, that the posterity of the present generation will remember Wm. Lloyd Garrison with gratitude and as one of humanity's truest advocates, and celebrate his birthday with song and sentiment, though his present traducers shall have been forgotten, their names having rotted and disappeared from human history.—*Portland Press.*

THE FREEDMEN AND MR. LINCOLN.—Miss Betsey Canedy, of Fall River, Mass., who is teaching a school among the colored people of Norfolk, Va., writes that she had in her school-room a life-sized head of the President. She called some colored carpenters, who were at work on the building, and showed it to them, writing down their remarks, some of which were as follows:

"He's brought us safe through the Red Sea." "He looks deep as the sea himself." "He's king of the United States." "He ought to be king of all the world." "We must all pray to the Lord to carry him safe through, for it 'pears like he's got everything hitched to him." "There has been a right smart praying for him, and it mustn't stop now."

THE SWISS REPUBLICANS.—A lady who resides in this city had a letter recently from her mother, living in the city of Geneva, Switzerland, which states that regularly, in the church she attends, prayers are made every Sunday for the success of the North in its struggle against a wicked rebellion, for the continued health of President Lincoln, and for the speedy extinction of every vestige of slavery from the great American Republic. This is a beautiful and touching incident, showing how the hearts of the honest lovers of liberty everywhere go with us, while the defenders of privilege, inequality and inhumanity carry their sympathies to the other side.—*Eve. Post.*

ENGLISH SYMPATHY.—*London, March* 4.—There was a meeting at Manchester this week by the Emancipation Society, "to celebrate the passing of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the United States Constitution," and a good one. Also another meeting, both of ladies and gentlemen, in this city, at the house of Mr. Thomas Cook, No. 29 Great Russell st., Bloomsbury, to further an admirable project suggested by this gentleman to the *Star*, namely, to freight a ship with clothing and other necessaries for the relief of the freedmen and freedwomen of the Southern States, in emulation of what was once done by Americans for Ireland, and still later for the impoverished Lancashire operatives. Many friends of ours were present, among them the Rev. Crammond Kennedy of New York, than whom no man has striven better for his country abroad, whether in Scotland or England. The movement seems likely to succeed.—*Cor. Tribune.*

RETRIBUTION IN EAST TENNESSEE.—The secesh left in East Tennessee are being "put through" by Parson Brownlow and the loyal courts. The Union men are prosecuting such of their old secesh neighbors as have any property for damages for what they suffered in the beginning of the rebellion, and the juries give any amount of damages asked. By this process the Union men intend to get all the property into their own hands. Brownlow's Knoxville *Whig* of the 1st, mentions three cases of the sort; that of Parson Brownlow himself, who obtained a verdict of $25,000 damages against three secesh citizens; Horace Foster, the same amount, from other parties, and the heirs of Sam Pickens, $40,000 against others. Brownlow says the damages should have been put higher, but the juries gave all that was asked, and did not take five minutes to decide in either case, and he advises all Union men who have been robbed to commence suits.

PRINCE NAPOLEON'S FRIENDSHIP FOR THE UNITED STATES.—A few evenings ago a well-known Democratic politician of New York was invited to dine at the Prince Napoleon's, in company with some leading French Liberals, all of whom, including the Prince, expressed themselves strongly in favor of the North and Abolition. The Prince said to the New-York Democrat that the rebellion was a crime, and must and would be put down, and that in his opinion it was already near its close. He said that he differed with his guest in regard to emancipation, for that he had upheld President Lincoln in his emancipation measures from the start, and in fact the Prince and his French friends showed themselves so much better Americans than their American guest, that the latter felt confounded. The Prince, on this occasion, said that the French would be glad to get out of Mexico, as the Americans would be glad to get them out, for he was tired of the whole affair, and thought the French people were also. He expressed the warmest friendship toward the United States, and hoped that the two nations would always remain the good friends they had been.—*Paris cor. N. Y. Times.*

THE STARS WITHOUT THE STRIPES.—The correspondent of the *Herald*, writing of Sherman's march through South Carolina, tells us of a soldier who was plodding along, sweating under the weight of his musket and knapsack, when a momentary halt was made. Turning his eyes reverently to the national colors, he suddenly exclaimed: "Boys, when this war is over I want to see that flag changed. I want a new national flag with the stars without the stripes. These damned nigger-whipping rebels love the stripes so fondly that they paint them upon the backs of their darkeys as means of recognition. We and the liberated darkies are 'marching on' to wipe out the stripes. Maryland has obliterated them; Missouri has followed suit; Tennessee has fallen into line, and now greets her free sister States. Give us no more of the stripes, but keep the stars, and replace the discarded emblem by anything—even a nigger soldier in blue uniform."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FREDERICKSBURG TOBACCO seems to be that the President gave permission to somebody to buy tobacco in Virginia, to be paid for, of course, in something not contraband of war. This is in accordance with his belief that such trade tends to weaken and demoralize the enemy; and on this account he favors the granting of cotton permits and pocketed the bill passed by Congress to prohibit them. The tobacco permit was transferred from first hands, doubtless for a consideration, to several New York Democrats, and Gen. Singleton, even Richmond as their agent. The tobacco was obtained and sent to Fredericksburg, and the agreement was that it should be paid for in bacon. At least so it was reported to Secretary Stanton, who, without consulting the President, ordered the expedition by which it was captured. Under the circumstances, the President cannot fail to approve the action of his impulsive Secretary in preventing a gross abuse of the permission he had innocently given.—*Springfield Repub.*

FRIENDS OF THE UNION IN CHARLESTON.—On Friday last a number of Union officers contributed the sum of one hundred dollars, which they presented to Mr. Cornelius H. Webb, a resident of this place and a thorough-going Union man. This act of generosity was induced from the fact that Mr. Webb and his wife nobly assisted the Union prisoners who were confined in Charleston jail last Summer. Mr. Webb having been reduced to a state of penury the officers gave him the money that he might expend it in the purchase of tools with which he could carry on his business. I am surprised to learn how many instances have been brought to light where Union prisoners have been aided by faithful yet unknown friends. There are men in this city who have given our men, while prisoners, thousands and thousands of dollars, for which they have received in return a simple promissory note. It is another evidence of the Union feeling existing in the city when the rebels declared that here was to be the last ditch.—*Charleston Cor. Times.*

THE NEW SENSATIONS OF THE TIME.—Verily we can see but a short distance into the counsels of the Almighty! If, five years ago, it had been asked for what Springfield was most remarkable, we should have returned almost any other answer than "as one of the homes of John Brown." Yet now, the fact begins to dawn upon us. I wish there could be a telegraph for sensations as well as words, I should like to flash through the country the enthusiasm when, at "Carleton's" lecture the other night, Garrison—Garrison! went up the steps of the Charleston slave block to make a speech, "putting the accursed thing under his feet"; or the hush of strained and tearful attention when the letter from Whittier was read. He never wrote anything more characteristic than its first sentence: "I rejoice heartily to hear of thy arrival in Boston with the relics of the Great Barbarism—the auction block of the human flesh market of South Carolina, worn with weary feet and steeped in tears!—the locks of the accursed prison house! the letters over its gates of despair! It is as if Dante had torn the dreadful inscription, 'Hope enters not here,' from the doors of hell, and borne it away with him to the upper world. It was well done on thy part." These events are epical. In such instants of enth

Miscellaneous Department.

THE ETERNAL GOODNESS.

BY JOHN J. WHITTIER.

O FRIENDS! with whom my feet have trod
The quiet aisles of prayer,
Glad witness to your zeal for God
And love of men I bear.

I trace your lines of argument;
Your logic, linked and strong,
I weigh as one who dreads dissent,
And fears a doubt as wrong.

But still my human hands are weak
To hold your iron creeds;
Against the words ye bid me speak
My heart within me pleads.

Who fathoms the Eternal Thought?
Who talks of scheme and plan?
The Lord is God! He needeth not
The poor device of man.

I walk with bare, hushed feet the ground
Ye tread with boldness shod;
I dare not fix with mete and bound
The love and power of God.

Ye praise His justice; even such
His pitying love I deem;
Ye seek a king; I fain would touch
The robe that hath no seam.

Ye see the curse which overbroods
A world of pain and loss;
I hear our Lord's beatitudes
And prayer upon the cross.

More than your schoolmen teach, within
Myself, alas, I know:
Too dark ye cannot paint the sin,
Too small the merit show.

I bow my forehead to the dust,
I veil mine eyes for shame,
And urge, in trembling self-distrust,
A prayer without a claim.

I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within;
I hear, with groan and travail-cries,
The world confess its sin:

Yet, in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed stake my spirit clings:
I know that God is good!

Not mine to look when cherubim
And seraphs may not see,
But nothing can be good in Him
Which evil is in me.

The wrong that pains my soul below
I dare not throne above;
I know not of His hate—I know
His goodness and His love!

I dimly guess from blessings known
Of greater out of sight,
And, with the chastened Psalmist, own
His judgments too are right.

I long for household voices gone,
For vanished smiles I long,
But God hath led my dear ones on,
And He can do no wrong.

I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

And if my heart and flesh are weak
To bear an untried pain,
The bruised reed He will not break,
But strengthen and sustain.

No offering of my own I have,
Nor works my faith to prove;
I can but give the gifts He gave,
And plead His love for love.

And so beside the Silent Sea
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from Him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

O brothers! if my faith is vain,
If hopes like these betray,
Pray for me that my feet may gain
The sure and safer way.

And Thou, O Lord! by whom are seen
Thy creatures as they be,
Forgive me if too close I lean
My human heart on Thee!

—*Independent.*

MARRIAGE AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

From the Evening Post.

THE marriage records kept among the Freedmen since their emancipation furnish the most curious and instructive chapter of their history. Nothing so conclusively declares the existing stage of their civilization as this.

The law of marriage was given to the freed people by the Secretary of War, in Special Order No. 15, issued by Brig.-Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant-General United States Army, dated Natchez, Miss., March 28, 1864. By this order, the entire supervision of this matter was committed, for the Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas, to Col. John Eaton, Jr., the general superintendent for freedmen, who authorized ordained ministers, who seemed unobjectionable, to solemnize the marriages of this people, and instructed them in the manner of it, and also prescribed that returns should be made upon careful examination of each case.

These returns were to be made a matter of permanent record, to be kept for public inspection in the office of the post superintendent, and a neat certificate of the marriage was to be issued to the parties joined in these sacred rites.

From this record kept by the post superintendent at Vicksburg, Capt. J. H. Weber, the facts and generalizations below are made. The first marriage under the new law was distinguished. It was celebrated in the Presbyterian Church, on Sunday, April 10, 1864, by Chaplain J. A. Hawley, Sixty-third regiment United States Colored Infantry, and the happy man who led off in this new order of things was a reputed son of a former Governor of Virginia, named William Smith. It was extensively noticed in the papers as a "marrisge in high life."

Since that time there have been recorded at Vicksburg fourteen hundred and fifty-six marriages, before the 1st of November. The record is required to show the color, or blood of the parties united in marriage, and of the parents of each; of course the color of six persons should be recorded for each marriage.

Out of these fourteen hundred and fifty-six marriages there were one hundred and sixty-six persons who were the children of one white parent, and three of them were children of white mothers.

One-third of all the marriages recorded so far are of parties white or partly white on one side or the other. This is undoubtedly below the truth, owing to two reasons—one is that a slight admixture of white blood is almost always set down as black, and the other is a prevalent unwillingness to own any such mixture of races, when it is not quite obvious. Whoever is familiar with the catechism of the people on this subject, which the instructions require, knows this to be the fact. The general fact seems to be that the lighter-colored mulattoes are rather proud of their white relationship, while the darker ones are rather unwilling to own it, or are ignorant of it. This is the testimony of the Chaplains, especially of the more sagacious. This feeling of reluctance to answer was more apparent in the case of the children of white mothers. No greater disgrace could attach to a white woman than this intercourse with negroes. But the case was widely different with men. It was too common to be very disgraceful.

A large part of the marriages recorded, especially at first, were of those who had lived together as husband and wife—perhaps for many years. One old man at Memphis was married, with several others, one morning. No sooner was the ceremony completed than he turned and tenderly embraced and kissed his now legal wife, with evident thanksgiving that she was now, in the eye of the law and of civilization, as she had long been in the eye of God, his own recognized wife.

One old man, of almost threescore and ten, was thus joined in lawful marriage to his venerable wife. At the conclusion of the ceremony, when the chaplain extended his hand with the nuptial benediction and dismissed them, as was the custom, in a short prayer, they both dropped on their knees together, their eyes streaming with tears of thankfulness, and at the close, still kneeling, the old man reached out both arms and hugged her to his heart, saying aloud, "My dear old woman, I bless God that I can now for the first time kiss my own lawful wife."

One illustration of the cruelty of slavery is found in the fact that in nearly one-third of all the cases recorded, one of the parties had been separated from a former mate "by force." Of these one thousand four hundred and fifty-six marriages, five hundred and two persons answered that they had been married before, and had been sold away or driven away from those who had sustained to them the dearest relation of life. Of these former marriages, thus virtually disrupted, there were born one thousand and seventy-seven children; and who shall measure the the sorrows of fathers and mothers thus torn away from their own flesh and blood? or of the children, by this accursed traffic bereft of parents, and left to the nurture of those who cared for them as simple property? This makes no account of the children sold from parents, but only of parents sold from children.

One Chaplain married 18 couples one evening after 8 o'clock, at Davis's Bend. Among these 36 were 13 persons who had been separated from husbands or wives "by force," and these 13 persons were parents of 34 children by former connections thus violently sundered.

There have seemed to be tides in this matrimonial sea. One chaplain married 102 couples in one day, which shows to what perfection art may attain, with sufficient practice. He would be "well-to-do" in the world, if Northern notions of marriage fees prevailed. Unhappily for the Chaplains, they do not. One received a silver dime for marrying a couple. Several times the parsons have been presented with a dime postal currency, and half a dime has been given as a marriage fee. But the strangest of all was one from a company of eleven couples married at once. A bride, more thoughtful than her evidently worser half, came up to the Chaplain and said that she "had not much to give, but begged him to accept a small token of interest in what had been done for her and her family," and handed him a sweet potato! He received it and thanked her politely, and was much pleased with this evidence of her appreciation of the service.

The oldest person married was 88 years old. He brought to the altar an elderly young woman of 50—38 years younger than himself. One man of 80 married a woman of 40. The greatest disparity of ages was 46 years. A mature gentleman of 66 united to himself a girl of 20. She made sure of getting a man old enough to be respected. Three white men married colored women. One old slave-trader married a handsome quadroon whom he had bought for $3,000, and had been offered $5,000 for.

"IN GOOD OLD COLONY TIMES."—The forger's doom was to stand in the pillory three several lecture-days, and render double damages to the party wronged, and also be disabled to give any evidence or verdict to any court or magistrate. The burial-place of the suicide was in the common highway, with a cart-load of stones laid upon the grave, as a brand of infamy. The profane swearer, in whose offence was included not only irreverence toward God, but wicked cursing of any person or creature, forfeited ten shillings for a single oath; if he swore more oaths than one at a time, before he removed out of the room or company where he so swore, it was at the cost of twenty shillings; and if the fine were not paid, he was set in the stocks. Idlers, among whom were especially reckoned common coasters, unprofitable fowlers and tobacco-takers, exposed themselves to committal to the house of correction. It was punishable by a fine of five shillings to dance, or use the game of shuffle-board, or bowling, or any other play or game in or about a house of public entertainment; or to play or game for any money or money worth; or to play at all, either at cards or dice; or to observe any such day as Christmas or the like; and the bringing or keeping of cards or dice within the jurisdiction subjected the offender to a fine of five pounds. An attempt to draw away the affection of any maid, under pretense of marriage, before obtaining liberty and allowance from her parents or governors, or, in absence of such, of the nearest magistrate, was punished by a forfeiture of five pounds. For a repetition of the attempt, the culprit was fined ten pounds, and compelled to enter into a recognizance for better behavior. If still unreclaimed, he was, on conviction by the county court, committed to prison, to remain there until the court of assistants should see cause to release him. No person whose wife or husband continued to live abroad was allowed to have a home in Massachusetts. No man might strike his wife, nor any woman her husband, on penalty of such fine, not exceeding ten pounds for one offence, or such corporeal punishment as the county court should determine.—*Palfrey's History of New England.*

ARMING THE NEGROES.—The Raleigh (N. C.) *Standard* is opposed to using negroes for the Confederate army. It disposes of the proposition in the following ingenious "conversation between master and Sambo":

Master—Well, Sam, the white men are not able to whip the Yankees, and we want you to help us.

Sam—Golly, master, what I got to do wid it? No fight o' mine. De Norf want to make me free nigger, and de Souf want to make me free nigger, and I spec I be killed fore it's done wid.

Master—Oh no, Sam, you must fight for your country. Gen. Lee says you must.

Sam—Bress de Lord, master, Sam got no country here. Sam's country in Africa. Sam hab no power to declar' war. De good book says, master, dat de nation's dat declar' war must do so afore God, and fight in his name. Ef dey don't do so, he'll turn a deef ear unto 'em and cuss 'em. Dars two sorts o' wars, master, God's wars and de Devil's wars. Ef Sam can't declar' war like de white man dat's got a country to fight for, den ef he's forced to fight he'll fight in de Devil's war. De minister teeched me to run from de Devil, and Sam 'specs to run from de Devil's war.

Master—Ah, Sam, you don't understand. We want to put the negroes in and have a glorious winding up to the war. We shall close it, if the negroes will only help us, in a blaze of glory.

Sam—Golly, master, dat's jes like de sirkus. Dey always winds up de sirkus wid de nigger. De ole clown he git our money and den trow de old close and de flour barrels 'mong de nigger. He! he! he! Spec Sam don't go to dat sirkus.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE DYING STANDARD-BEARER.

UPROAR, uproar,
Forevermore,
Banner of the brave!
Cold hands uphold
The starry fold
That lights me to my grave.

Nay, do not take it from me yet!
My life clings to it, warm and wet;
O, comrades, lift my crushed arm high,
And let me hold it till I die.

Uproar, uproar,
Forevermore,
Banner of the true!
No traitor arm
Shall do thee harm,
Banner red, white and blue!

O happier eyes than mine will gaze
When glory's stars in triumph blaze!
Yet, comrades, lift my crushed arm high,
And let me hold it till I die.

Uproar, uproar,
Forevermore,
Banner of the free!
Thy rays aspire,
Still higher, higher,
Ensign of Liberty!

Still let those folds above me sweep,
Till glory's dream haunts death's cold sleep!
O, comrades, lift my crushed arm high,
And let me hold it till I die.

S. E. CARMICHAEL.

FURNESS ON RENAN.—We have before us the "Remarks" of Dr. W. H. Furness, of Philadelphia, on "Renan's Life of Jesus." The essay is very ably written, and places in a clear light many of the gross misconceptions of the character of Jesus into which the French philosopher has fallen. Renan was a sceptic as to the actual existence of such a being until four or five years since, when he visited the Holy Land, and his doubts were dispelled, and the great teacher of the Christian faith stood before him as a veritable historical personage. Dr. Furness shows how many of the ideas of this former scepticism remain to conflict with the new views thus acquired, and to make Renan's portraiture of the character of Jesus inconsistent with itself. Still more remarkably does he show that it is in many respects quite inconsistent with the account of it given in the Gospels, the only records from which a knowledge of it is derived. Dr. Furness discusses with Renan the question of the miracles related by the Evangelists, and shows that instead of investigating the evidence in their favor, the "Life of Jesus" at the very outset simply takes for granted that they could never have been performed, which is a very easy but by no means satisfactory way of disposing of the question. Finally the author of the "Remarks" shows how far all the admiration professed by Renan for the character of Jesus comes short of the reverence with which one who gathers that character from the narratives of his contemporary biographers and their records of his sayings cannot but regard it.—*Eve. Post.*

THE EMANCIPATION YEAR.—It would seem that this is to be the great emancipation year. Under the influence of the discussion arising from the American civil contest, the whole world seems deeply interested in the question of human freedom. We read in the *Tribune*:

"Earnest efforts are about to be made in Spain for the abolition of slavery in her colonies. In Madrid an anti-slavery society has been formed, under the designation of *La Sociedad Abolicionista Espanola*, consisting of men of all political parties, who have adopted as their fundamental rule that politics shall not be brought into any of their discussions, but that the great question shall be treated *upon the broad basis of humanity, justice and religion*. The Society has appointed a Committee to inquire into the results of emancipation wherever it has been carried into effect, and to report upon the best means of abolishing slavery in the Spanish colonies.

"From Cuba we learn that anti-slavery sentiments are rapidly spreading among the native population. A considerable number of newspapers advocate emancipation, the probability of which is improving from day to day."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

ON THE PASSAGE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

TO-DAY God smiles upon our cause;
The Nation's heart beats high!
To-day the Heaven-defying laws
(Long cursed) of slavery,
Are blotted from our Nation's page
By Freedom's royal hand,
While grateful, throbbing hearts presage
Peace to our war-worn land.

The shackles from four million slaves
Fall, broken, to the ground!
Our starry banner proudly waves,
Our bells exultant sound!
From town to town, from sea to sea,
By loyal breezes fanned!
The joyous peal of liberty
Rings out through all the land.

The Freedman, kneeling on the soil
Bedewed with tears and blood,
Wrung out by unrequited toil,
Breaks forth in praise to God!
His long, long life of agony,
And concentrated wrong,
Exchanged for rapturous Liberty!
Oh! raise the grateful song!

Thank God! our country now is free!
Redeemed from Slavery's blight!
Ring *out*, O joy bells, merrily!
Ring *in* an age of light!
From North to South, from East to West,
Swell high the loud acclaim!
Dark Slavery's curse no more shall rest
Upon our Nation's fame!

Triumphant let the shout be heard,
"Freedom for coming years!"
While distant Nations catch the words,
And echo back our cheers!

Newbern, N. C., Feb. 15, 1865. A. G.

JOHN S. ROCK AND TONY KNAPP.—They tell a good story here among Western people, wherein a negro lawyer and a Copperhead Congressman figure. The lawyer is John S. Rock, of Boston, and the Congressman is Anthony L. Knapp, of Illinois. It appears that some weeks ago Mr. Knapp accosted another Illinois Congressman—Mr. B. C. Cook, of Ottawa—with "I believe, Cook, you are the only man here who knows, of his own knowledge, that I'm a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of our State; and I want you to present me, some morning, for admission to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States." "Certainly, certainly, Knapp," replied Cook, who, by the way, is a good Republican. Happening to meet on the morning of the first of this month, Knapp says, "Well, Cook, can you 'tend to that little matter of mine this morning?" "O, yes, come on." So they two went into the chamber of the Supreme Court, and sat in the bar waiting the assembling of the Court.

Directly, also, followed them Charles Sumner and John S. Rock—taking seats quietly, that needless attention be not drawn to the presence of this negro. Soon came in the honorable the Supreme Court of the United States, who, bowing in stately fashion to the few spectators, took their usual seats. Mr. Cook and Mr. Knapp rose, and the former was on the point of presenting the latter, when Charles Sumner's voice was heard—"May it please the honorable Court. I present John S. Rock, of Boston, for admission to the bar of this Court." "Let him be sworn," simply said Mr. Chase; and, all negro as he was, he advanced to be sworn. But Cook loves a joke—here was his chance. While this was going on the Democratic Congressman of Copperhead tendencies stood staring in amazement. Just as the negro was stepping to be sworn, Cook caught Knapp by the arm with, "Now, Knapp, it'll be your turn immediately after this gentleman," with special emphasis on the last word. "No," exclaimed Knapp, as he rushed for the door. Tony Knapp, Congressman from Illinois, hasn't yet been admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.—*Washington Cor. Rochester Dem.*

ELDER SPIKE ON ILE.—There is considerable excitement in Poga Point, caused by a sermon preached by Elder Spike, a Sunday or two since; and there is some talk of inviting him to furnish a copy for the press. The Elder is a believer in Millerism, and he has quite a number of followers. The discourse was very effective, and lost nothing by the eccentricity of the preacher. I must give you some idea of the sermon.

The text was the parable of the ten virgins. The speaker commenced by remarking that one of the most remarkable words in the Scriptur' was ILE. It is referred to, said he, a number of times, and always with a meaning to it. There was ile that maketh the countenance to shine, ile that is mentioned in the text, the ile in the Widow Cruise's jug, and the ile of Patmos. The text shows how important ile is. No doubt, remarked the Elder, the five wise virgins were so glad of their ile that it made their faces shine—a remarkable agreement of one Scriptur' with another.

The most interesting part of the discourse, and that which has caused so much excitement, was that which the Elder brought the subject to bear upon the peculiar doctrines of his Church. The recent extensive discoveries of oil were very forcibly portrayed. "And what does it mean?" he asked, as he brought his fist down with a thump on the pulpit-cushion. "I will tell you," he continued. "That ile aint to be considered as meaning nothing. How often have I told you that the end is near, when this wicked earth is to be burned up! Now, what could put it in a state to burn easy as quick as ile? I tell ye, this ere ile means somethin'."

But I have not time to give you a further account of the sermon. It is enough to say, that it has waked up the Poga Pointers considerably.—*Commonwealth.*

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS'S PUBLIC SERVICES.—On Sunday evening last, Mr. Wendell Phillips, with other gentlemen, spoke at the Tremont Temple, on the subject of a "Metropolitan Police," to a crowded house, of course. Some have asked, what Mr. Phillips and the rest of the Abolitionists will do when slavery is fairly abolished, and their "occupation gone"?—a singularly-innocent question, betraying a state of ignorance curious to contemplate. If the querists had ever touched with a finger-tip a single link in the chain of reform, they would not need to be told that the moment a man sets about righting a single wrong, his horizon begins to enlarge, and work multiplies on his hands. Small chance for him ever to be thrown out of employment! Hands and heart may fail, the work never. With all the liquor-shops in the city of Boston, Massachusetts reformers will hardly need die of *ennui*.

The stress and strain of the last five years have left their traces on the face of Wendell Phillips. When one meets him on the street, in his careless felt hat, with some young friend on his arm—the light hair, fine as spun gold, the luminous eyes, and smiles coming and going while he talks—the man looks immortal. If he ever grows old—and God grant he may!—it must be into the rare sweetness and youthfulness of an old age like that of Bronson Alcott. So it seems when one meets him of a sunshiny morning, smiling and genial. Nevertheless, the lines are there, and the change is most distinctly marked in his later photographs. And yet the sadness of his greatness fits him well. As if the plume upon a

—"warrior's casque
Should nod a shadow on his hero face."

—*Commonwealth.*

THE REV. NEWMAN HALL was recently preaching in his homely circular chapel in the Blackfriars Road, once famous in connection with the celebrated Rowland Hill, whose name it still bears. In the midst of his discourse a fellow climbed from the audience to the platform, and, gesticulating savagely, burst out with "G—d d—n you! I'm a Southerner! I'm a Southerner! G—d d—n you!" when he was enormously hissed and hustled out of the meeting. It was no audience to tolerate plantation manners or language. The orator made *the* hit of the evening by observing, in his clear high tones: "You see, my friends, a thorough specimen of the Southerners in this person. You remarked his violence, and many of you could see the wicked expression of his countenance. But few of you could hear the language he used. Yes, he *is* a good sample of the men who are now in rebellion against one of the best governments that the world has yet seen." Here the thunder of applause broke in, and nothing else was audible.

A DEVONSHIRE farmer catechizing his lad one day on "the chief end o' man," said, "Who made thee?" "God," answered the boy, and nodded his head: "What did God make thee vor?" No reply. "Speak, mumchance, what dost stand digging the head, and shuckening, as if thee was lousy? Speak, moon calf—'Ot did God make thee vor?" The boy now looked up and said, "To carry dung to Crowbear, measter."

A HAPPY PHRASE.—A brilliant member of the Suffolk Bar was urging the need of the personal presence of his witness in the court, and deprecating the use of her deposition, as giving the jury no idea of her testimony. "Your Honor," he cried, "we might as well try to photograph a fit."—*Transcript.*

CHARACTERISTIC ACT OF A BOSTON BANKER.—It is known by many that Prof. Agassiz has obtained leave of absence from his professional duties at Cambridge, to visit Brazil for research and observation in confirmation of his glacial theory. In conversation, recently, with a number of gentlemen upon the subject, he was asked if he should take an assistant with him. He replied that he should not—that though he would most desire it, his means would not warrant the expense? "What will be the expense?" quietly asked Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. "Three thousand dollars rejoined the professor. "Take six assistants, Mr. Agassiz, with you, and let me bear the expense," at once rejoined the public-spirited banker. The Professor, aglow all over with this unexpected realization of his fondly-cherished desire, could only *look* his gratitude and acknowledgment.—*Commonwealth.*

UNITARIAN CHURCH, CHARLESTON, S. C.—We learn that this edifice, one of the most beautiful in the city is "uninjured." It will be remembered that this is the church in which the late Rev. Dr. Samuel Gilman preached for many years. Since his death, in 1858, it has been without a pastor most of the time, as no Unitarian clergyman could be found with "Southside" views of the great national crime. One of the preachers, acceptable to the people of Charleston on the slavery question, was afterwards found to be unsound on one of the ten commandments. When he was deposed from the ministry, his case added a new instance to what an eminent divine, in speaking of unfrocked clergymen, called, the "terrible monotony of ministerial transgression."—*Boston Transcript.*

AN ARTIST WITHOUT ARMS.—There dwells in Antwerp an artist named Fillu, who, born without arms, educated his feet effectively to do their work. His taste directed his choice of life. He became a painter, and has succeeded in being a very accomplished one. He may be seen in the museum, copying with great fidelity some fine work or other. He balances himself with ease and firmness on a stool, grasps his maulstick and palette with his left great toe, and with the right uses his brush with facility. The toes of his feet alone are exposed. M. Fillu has a most intelligent and agreable physiognomy.

WHITTIER'S Barbara Freitchie was, we are informed by Rev. Mr. Fletcher, so much appreciated by the Emperor of Brazil that he read it again and again in English in the presence of a number of gentlemen of the court, and then brought it before the princesses and their husbands, just arrived from Europe (the Count d'Eu and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha), as one of the finest specimens of poetry in any language embodying heroic female patriotism.

Advertisements.

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS.

COFFEE! COFFEE!! COFFEE!!!

THE EAST INDIA COFFEE CO.

154 READE STREET (three doors from Greenwich Street), N. Y.

Call universal attension to their

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,

ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price and also that

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.

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is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years can use

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three times a day without injury, it being entirely free from those properties that produce nervous excitement.

Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE.

I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."

The PRINCIPAL of the NEW YORK EYE INFIRMARY says: "I direct all the patients of our institution to use exclusively

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and would not be without it on any account."

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"I have used it nearly a year in my family, and find it produces no ache of the head or nervous irritation, as in the case of all other Coffees. It is exceedingly pleasant, and I cordially recommend it to all clergymen and their families."

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is used daily by the families of Bishop Ames, Bishop Baker, and many of the most distinguished clergymen and professional men in the country.

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as there are numerous counterfeits afloat under the name of "Genuine East India Coffee," "Original East India Coffee," etc., put forth by impostors to deceive the unwary.

In 1 lb. packages, and in boxes of 36, 60 and 100 lbs., for Grocers and large Consumers. *Sold by Grocers generally.*

WHOLESALE AGENTS, to whom Western Grocers may send their orders: S. N. Callender, Buffalo; James Mills, Pittsburg; Gordon, McMillan & Co., Cleveland; Aaron A. Colter & Co., Cincinnati; J. & J. W. Bunn, Springfield, Ill.; Sawyer & Starrett, Indianapolis.

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VIZ.

1. THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (Conservative).
2. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (Whig).
3. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW (Free Church).
4. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (Liberal).

AND

5. BLACKWOOD'S EDIBURGH MAGAZINE, (Tory).

The American Publishers continue to reprint the above-named periodicals, but as the cost of printing has *doubled*, the price of paper nearly *trebled*, and taxes, duties, licenses, etc., largely increased, they are compelled to advance their terms as follows:

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For any one of the four Reviews - - - - - - - - - - - - Per annum	$4 00
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The works will be printed on a *greatly improved quality of paper*, and while nearly all American Periodicals are either advanced in price or reduced in size—and very generally both—we shall continue to give faithful copies of *all* the matter contained in the original editions. Hence, our present prices will be found as cheap, for the amount of matter furnished, as those of any of the competing periodicals in this country.

Compared with the cost of the original editions, which at the present premium on gold would be about $100 a year, our prices ($15) are *exceedingly low*. Add to this the fact that we make our annual payments to the British Publishers for early sheets and copyright in *Gold*—$1 costing us at this time (Jan. 1865) nearly $2 50 in currency—and we trust that in the scale we have adopted we shall be entirely justified by our subscribers and the reading public.

The interest of these Periodicals to American readers is rather increased than diminished by the articles they contain on our *Civil War*, and, though sometimes tinged with prejudice, they may still, considering their great ability and the different stand-points from which they are written, be read and studied with advantage by the people of this country, of every creed and party.

THE FOUR REVIEWS FOR 1863.

A few copies of the above remain on hand, and will be sold at $5 for the whole four, or $2 for any one.

We also Publish the

FARMER'S GUIDE,

By HENRY STEPHENS of Edinburgh and the late J. P. NORTON, of Yale College. 2 vols. Royal Octavo, 1,600 pages and numerous Engravings. PRICE.—$7, for the two volumes. By Mail $8.

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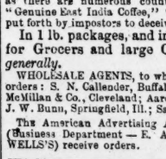


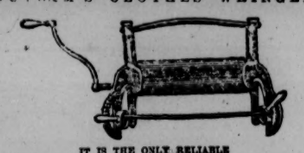
With corrupt, disordered or vitiated Blood, you are sick all over. It may burst out in Pimples, or Sores, or in some active disease, or it may merely keep you listless, depressed and good for nothing. But you cannot have good health while your blood is impure. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA purges out these impurities and stimulates the organs of life into vigorous action, restoring the health and expelling disease. Hence it rapidly cures a variety of complaints which are caused by impurity of the blood, such as *Scrofula*, or *King's Evil*, *Tumors*, *Ulcers*, *Sores*, *Eruptions*, *Pimples*, *Blotches*, *Boils*, *St. Anthony's Fire*, *Rose* or *Erysipelas*, *Tetter* or *Salt Rheum*, *Scald Head*, *Ring Worm*, *Cancer* or *Cancerous Tumors*, *Sore Eyes*, *Female Diseases*, such as *Retention*, *Irregularity*, *Suppression*, *Whites*, *Sterility*, also *Syphilis* or *Venereal Diseases*, *Liver Complaints*, and *Heart Diseases*. Try AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and see for yourself the surprising activity with which it cleanses the blood and cures those disorders.

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound "Sarsapa-filla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only assure the sick, that we offer them the best alterative which we know how to produce, and we have reason to believe, it is by far the most effectual purifier of the blood yet discovered by anybody.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL is so universally known to surpass every other remedy for the cure of *Coughs*, *Colds*, *Influenza*, *Hoarseness*, *Croup*, *Bronchitis*, *Incipient Consumption*, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease, that it is useless here to recount the evidence of its virtues. The world knows them.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere. 39-2mo.

PUTNAM'S CLOTHES WRINGER



IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get Out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the best Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That iron well galvanized *will not rust*.
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting*, *durable and efficient*.
That thumb screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell*, *shrink*, and *split*.
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out*.
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes*.
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration*.

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen: I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.

Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars*.

JOHN C. LEFFERTS, No. 100 Beekman Street.

NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is strong; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, as it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have *any*, to buy his Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.

HORACE GREELEY.

Sizes, 8, 9, and 10.
Single Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
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GROVESTEEN & CO.,

PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,

499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over-strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

TERMS—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP
Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post*, July 1, 1863

"J. D. WEST & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 130 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.

"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.

"H. B. MOLLVAIN.'

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.

"WARREN LELAND, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
"J. W. POMEROY, Yonkers, N. Y.
"JOHN MESSEREAU, N. Y.
"DOMINICK LAWRENCE, Westchester."

From the New York Observer.

"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder,